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# JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

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## ALBION W. SMALL: AN APPRECIATION

GEORGE E. VINCENT

*President, Rockefeller Foundation*

IT IS ALWAYS a pleasure to come and say a few words about my former chief, whom I shall always regard with the deepest affection, with enduring affection. . . . Now, what are the contributions that this man was prepared to make, and what were the contributions that he has made? In the first place, he is a great believer in sociology, and he has not hesitated to mention his convictions on the subject. In fact, in season and out of season, he has insisted upon sociology, as a point of view, as a means of interpretation of the social sciences — there have been all sorts of phrases for it, but whenever you came in contact with Albion W. Small you became convinced that there was a work to be done, and that the label for it was sociology. You were in no doubt, if you entered his presence or read anything he wrote, that here was a subject that needed recognition, and that was a challenge to men of brains to make investigations and work out fundamental theories and to establish and push forward an investigation and an interpretation of our social life which could be called sociology. So that was a thing he has stood for, and has stood for insistently.

Moreover, he has been a channel by means of which currents of thought came from the other side of the Atlantic. He was thoroughly familiar with contemporary German

EDITOR'S NOTE: The two following papers reproduce in order of delivery the two addresses given at the annual dinner of the American Sociological Society held recently in Chicago under the direction of Charles A. Ellwood. Dr. Vincent, who spoke first, devoted his attention to Professor Small, and Dr. Lichtenberger, who spoke last, reviewed the achievements of Professor Giddings. The article by President Vincent is made up of excerpts from stenographic notes; the speaker's after dinner style has been retained.

and Austrian sociology and social economics. These German and Austrian ideas began to come in through courses and articles and ultimately through books, so that Albion W. Small became an important connecting link, an influential means for communicating these ideas from Europe, and helping to incorporate them into the growing sociological theory in the United States.

Again, he is a man who has believed in methodology. Now, methodology is a dreadful subject to some people, and those people who want short cuts, who want to get somewhere — the people Wells calls the “God-sakers,” who get up in meeting and say, “For God’s sake, let’s do something!” because they feel the pragmatic urge, — these people are very irritable and impatient when others want to work out methodology; they are very much afraid of the scientific approach — of anything they don’t understand.

Albion W. Small had no fear of theorizing. As we look back upon his insistence upon scientific method, upon careful thinking out, upon a systematic approach, we realize that whatever an individual’s interpretation might be, whatever difference of opinion was met as to the way in which this thing might best be accomplished, that there could be no doubt that the fundamental idea was a sound one — an idea to which Albion W. Small adhered persistently and loyally, and which I firmly believe was a scientific approach to scientific questions, an admirable way of insisting upon self-discipline in thinking, in formulating one’s ideas, and in the working out of rubrics. Albion W. Small spoke of human things in terms of the six-fold classification (health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, rightness), which became classic in our thinking.

As a teacher Albion W. Small has many of the finest qualities that go to make an ideal university teacher. In



the first place, he is always tolerant, never dogmatic. He has very definite convictions, and he expresses them with great earnestness, in vivid and varied ways, but there is never any suggestion of finality. You never have the feeling that you are sitting at the feet of a prophet who is in some sort of communication with mysterious forces, which, having handed down to him the final law, he now complacently transmits to you. Nothing of the dogmatist about him, nothing of the man who deals out to a passive and presumably grateful group the information they should have — not a bit of it.

And then, he has a disconcerting way of showing confidence in people. Albion W. Small's confidence and deference toward students is one of the most valuable means by which he arouses a sense of responsibility. It gives them a reasonable degree of self-confidence, and provides a stimulus for individual growth and for individual effort.

As an instructor in the class room he is always interesting, always stimulating, because of the cleverness of his wit, the ingenuity, the flexibility and the resourcefulness of his phrasing. And his vocabulary! We used to take pride in the rare felicity of his phrasing. And if at times, as I have heard it said, there is a certain Johnsonian quality in his diction, at the same time there is always an effectiveness of antithesis, a cleverness of qualifying adjective, and a clear analytical insight.

Discussion in his lecture room was always opened to complete freedom. These discussions played an extremely important part in developing his students, for, after all, his greatest contribution, it seems to me, is that he aims at developing individuals, at helping them to find themselves. He has had the greatest confidence in individuality and the development of personality, and he believes it is the great function of the teacher not to dictate, not to form, but to

give the opportunity for self-development. He and Mr. Dewey agree on that, only Mr. Dewey takes them earlier, and Dr. Small gets them later, when they have partly developed under other systems of education.

He is a great and inspiring and stimulating teacher, and all those who have the opportunity and privilege of being his students feel a pride in it, and they look back upon those days in the class room and feel that they were among the most stimulating and exciting periods of their lives.

Dr. W. R. Harper brought me out to the University of Chicago and here I came in contact with Dr. Small. I shall never forget those years of association. Never through all that time was there the slightest cloud over the relationship between Dr. Small and his students. There was always a sense of comradeship, a sense of loyalty, a sense of complete devotion, which was at the same time wholly free from any intellectual sycophancy. Any man in the class room who would stand up against his chief won the respect and confidence of the leader who was trying to bring out and develop the student. No matter what traits of asininity the student might be displaying, he was at any rate showing some independence of judgment; that was the thing which, if it went on long enough, might lead to something like a personality.

I should dislike now, in conclusion, to cite the students of Dr. Small, as examples of what he could accomplish. My blushes are obvious. I won't call upon all the others here who belong to this group. I call attention in a remote, detached, and unconcerned way to the list of those who seem just now to be in the ascendancy. You must remember that Professor Small had miscellaneous and to a large degree refractory material to deal with. So you must suspend judgment. You must make those grave, detached investigations which you, devoted to the truth as you are, would insist on making.

And last of all — whatever his merits, and they are very high ones, as a student, as a teacher, as a pioneer in the field to which he devoted himself wholeheartedly, Albion W. Small is every inch a man, a gentleman in the best sense of the term, loyal to the truth as he sees it, tolerant or considerate of those who do not see it as he does, faithful and courageous in standing for principle, and at the same time showing a beautiful spirit of comradeship and good will. He has inspired his colleagues and his students to seek the truth and to put it at the service of their fellow men.



EVERY community is preyed upon by two small minorities, the dregs and the scum. A large part of our legislation is an endeavor to restrict the pernicious activities of the dregs. We make comparatively little effort to lessen the production of the poisons that seep downward into the mass of the people from the scum. Yet the poisons engendered by the dregs do not permeate the whole body of our citizenship as do the poisons that attain the full malignant growth in the scum. Rowntree, *Changing Human Nature*, p. 132.

SOCIAL progress may then be defined as an accumulation of social surplus together with such equitable distribution of the same as will best further continual accumulation and promote a sufficient degree of harmony to guarantee evolutionary rather than revolutionary change. Sims, *Society and its Surplus*, p. 510.

WE HAVE attempted to live off of machinery, and the host has devoured us. It is time that we ceased to play the parasite: time that we looked about us, to see what means we have for once more becoming men. Mumford, *Sticks and Stones*, p. 189.

## FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS: AN APPRECIATION

JAMES P. LICHTENBERGER

*University of Pennsylvania*

WHAT COULD be more fitting or more consistent with our feelings of obligation than that we should take "time out" from the vigorous pursuit of our endeavors to extend the boundaries of our science, in order that we may show deference to those who have been the fountain of our inspiration, the strength of our leadership, and the wisdom of our counsel in the course we have followed hitherto?

That I speak particularly of Professor Giddings is the choice of President Ellwood. I should have counted it an honor to have spoken for either Professor Giddings or Professor Small. The fact is I have been long in doubt as to which one I owe the greater debt.

Shortly after leaving college, thirty-two years ago, I had the good fortune to hear a short course of lectures on Sociology by Professor Small. He gripped me. In comparison with the studies in the orthodox classical course of that day sociology seemed to me vital, energizing, imbued with living reality. It was the turning point in my intellectual career. The *American Journal* was in its second year. I subscribed. It was over my head, where much of it has remained ever since. Ten years later when the opportunity came to renew my long interrupted academic work, I was living in New York. I went up to Columbia and sought out Professor Giddings, under whose counsel and instruction I pursued the work for my degree. In a figure of speech, then, I may say that as a sociologist I was begotten by Professor Small and God-fathered by Professor

Giddings, and until the relative importance of heredity and environment is determined with greater accuracy, I probably shall continue to remain in doubt as to my superior obligation.

Perhaps the figure is unfortunate. I wish vehemently to disclaim any attempt to impute to them collectively or severally any responsibility whatever for the outcome of their joint enterprise. I was merely defining my status.

There are times and occasions, such as those of the general sessions of our convention when dispassionate utterance and scientific reserve should characterize the proceedings. There are other times, and this I think is one, when we may speak as our sentiments prompt and our hearts dispose.

It would be superfluous and would presume upon the knowledge and the intelligence of this group to attempt here any analysis or evaluation of Professor Giddings' contribution to the literature, to the scientific development, to the accumulated data or to the improvement of technique of Sociology. Wherever interest in the subject is found, wherever it is taught, wherever its literature is extended, wherever students are interested in its pursuit as a scientific discipline or in its practical application, there his name, his scholarship, his catholicity, his breadth of knowledge, his grasp of the principle of causation, his intensity of purpose, his sincerity of conviction, and his uncompromising attitude to truth, is known, recognized, and respected. Of these things in detail I need not and I shall not speak. I cannot, however, entirely refrain from a few personal comments upon his relation to the expansion of sociology as a scientific pursuit and as a transforming agency and a sobering influence in social work.

He entered the field of sociology in its emotional, formative, experimental stage. Its territory was ill defined, its



content undetermined, its conclusions tentative, its technique undeveloped, and its very right to existence as a science questioned and undemonstrated.

It challenged his disciplined imagination. He brought to his self-appointed, and unappreciated, and to many fellow students in other social sciences a deprecated task, a practical interest, a prophetic vision, an indefatigable energy, and an indomitable will. He set himself resolutely and with determination to formulate, to synthesize, to create a science of sociology which would demand and secure recognition from all those who value scientific work well done in any sphere.

He began with perhaps Spencerian predilections to formulate the basic principles and fundamental generalizations of the science — a process essential as first steps in the development of any science. His work was tangible, qualitative, comprehensive. Here was his first great contribution. He, of course, would be the last to claim any solitary preeminence here or to approve such claim in his behalf. But he made his contribution.

And the science grew. How rapidly it has grown those who are here tonight well know. It entered the next and logical stage of criticism, of investigation, of verification, of reconstruction. It is not given to many men to contribute to more than one stage of a continuous and progressive evolutionary process. Epochs are usually marked by consecutive contributions of a series of individuals or groups. To every stage in the development of Sociology since it entered the family of the social sciences as a recognized college or university discipline he has made valuable contributions, — and today in the midst of a host of scholars whose work is technical, critical, constructive, quantitative, he remains a dominating, dignified, and corrective figure.

His latest book, *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, just issued by the University of North Carolina press, is the outstanding work in the definition, scope, and aim of the technique of social research and the reconstruction of social theory on the quantitative basis.

It is, however, in respect to the more intimate and personal aspects of his character that I prefer to think of him tonight.

Often the public man — the teacher, the scholar, the author, is revered by a wide circle of admirers whose contacts lack any personal touch and who surround him with a sort of halo of unhuman attributes. He is remote, an intellect, a subjective influence. And this is by no means to be despised. It is the measure of intellectual worth divorced from personality.

Professor Giddings may be that and that alone to some, perhaps to many, but to others of us who know him as a man he is that and more. He is intensely human. He is a man of like passions with the rest of us. Saintliness and piety in the ascetic sense are not his prevailing virtues, but his heart is big, his sympathies are broad, and his affection deep. He is a citizen of the United States, a professor in Columbia University, and a person in his own right.

In order to emphasize these personal qualities, to humanize him further, as it were, I proceed to elaborate briefly these qualities of patriot, teacher, friend.

Professor Giddings has convictions on all subjects of public weal. He is neither the agitator nor the recluse. He never propagandizes his views although he holds them to be expedient, neither does he withhold his opinion when requested to give it. He is never stampeded, orthodoxy has never troubled him, he knows his own mind, he trusts his mental processes, and he is not afraid of his convictions. An incident will illustrate:

When the world war began he did not need to witness the procession of events in order to form an opinion. He foresaw. On May 7, 1916, he was due to speak at a Columbia University Alumni dinner in Philadelphia. He was my guest. On the train between New York and Philadelphia he read the dispatches announcing the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He was mad. That delicate glow which creeps up behind his ears whenever his New England conscience is disturbed was plainly visible. A luckless remark made at table by a then German sympathizer precipitated a near-catastrophe. It brought forth a stern rebuke, in polite form to be sure, but of no uncertain sound. It was our plain duty as a nation in the interest of democracy forthwith to recruit an army of 7,000,000 men to be sent at once to France to terminate the rule of ruin. His essays and unpublished lectures during the war contain a positive and constructive national foreign policy in sharp contrast to the hesitant and vacillating one pursued by the government during and since that time. He is not a mere academician. He has always regarded sociology as a pragmatic science and he has freely and often at great sacrifice of personal convenience, time, and energy participated in public service and in the enlightenment and clarification of public opinion on matters of public importance in the interest of social advancement.

As a teacher he is inspiring, informing, challenging. He sets the mental machinery of his students going with accelerated velocity. He awakens ideas, stimulates research, impels the student to accept as authoritative only such arguments as satisfy his reason.

An eager and expectant group of students, I speak of the graduate type, of course, has always been to him an inspiration and an opportunity. Unlike the attitude of the professor who remarked that "a university would be a good

place to work if it were not for the students," he has regarded teaching as one of his chief functions. In productive scholarship and in original research he is the peer of any and the superior of most, but his teaching suffered no neglect. While thus creating a keen interest in investigation and in scientific attainment he has dignified and exalted the profession of teaching in the American university, a subject which often among scholars is minimized or receives inadequate attention.

In this respect he has enjoyed a rare opportunity and has achieved unusual distinction. It would be difficult to find in this or in any other country one who has more profoundly influenced a larger or more diverse group of students. The dissemination of ripened knowledge he rightly regards as valuable but its method of presentation is of equally great significance.

The principle involved here, though somewhat facetiously expressed, is the secret of his success as a teacher. Intellectual quickening takes place, not by handing out to the student dogmatic truth, however finely phrased, which he is expected to receive, to have and to hold and to hand back unsoiled and unchanged, like the hidden talent, when called upon to do so in the day of final reckoning, i. e., the examination, but, by that fine comradeship between instructor and student in the pursuit of truth which obtains when the instructor guides the student to materials and methods for constructive thinking and expects results which may be criticized with mutual profit.

As a friend, he's the kind you cherish. Aside from the contribution to their intellectual equipment the next greatest treasure which his students prize, and I speak both from personal knowledge and from observation, is his personal friendship. It's real and he makes you feel it. For many of us it began in the classroom and in the office but

grew in the intimacy of his own home where for many years he has gathered once a month a group of congenial spirits from among his students for social intercourse where we smoked the pipe of peace which comes through community of interest and where we engaged in stimulating discussion and friendly combat on every subject under heaven.

That friendship has grown and ripened through the years. The ever-widening circle of his students has not diminished his interest in and his solicitude for those who have gone out from his immediate touch. Scattered as we are and separated by distances more or less remote, there is a bond of sympathy and a "consciousness of kind" among his former students based not alone upon intellectual affinities which he created but because of the stamp of his personality and of the mutual ties which his personal and abiding friendship inspires.

There is one phrase of respect and endearment, devoid of any reference to his accumulating years, which alone seems adequate or appropriate to be used when we speak of him. Coined many years ago, it continues to be used with increasing frequency and cogency, not only among his students and former students, but by that larger fraternity which has come under the spell of his achievements and of his personality. It is: "The Grand Old Man." I propose a toast to the Grand Old Man of Columbia.



BUSINESS nowadays to be truly successful must keep in mind two preeminent guiding principles — an earnest concern for the people who help to make its products, and for the public who buys them. Society will not allow business to prosper except as it faithfully lives up to some such principles and responsibilities. Filene, *A Merchant's Horizon*, p. 211.



## DEMOCRACY AS A SOCIAL IDEAL

EDWARD CARY HAYES

*University of Illinois*

THE RECENT able discussion of democracy in this journal suggests some further comments. Not long ago *The American Sociological Society* devoted the sessions of its annual meeting to a discussion of Democracy. So much vagueness and uncertainty were disclosed with reference to the definition of the term that at the close of the meeting one member of the society was heard to say that he doubted whether he should ever use the word *democracy* again.

It is impossible to expunge the word from our vocabulary. And the necessary course with reference to such a term is not to discard it but to define it. It has become, perhaps more than any other single expression, the symbol of our social aspiration. Such symbols are precious. They are to society what the eagles were to the armies of Rome. They give order to the march and united force to the charge. They are the instruments of cohesion and of progress.

Great symbols are usually vague in meaning. Just what was *meant* by the eagles of Rome, or what is meant by Columbia or the Stars and Stripes it would be somewhat difficult to formulate. Perhaps those who rally around such a symbol have never been able wholly to agree in such a formulation. Such vagueness does not indicate that the symbol does not have a recognizable core of meaning for all who follow it, however greatly its connotations for different minds may vary.

But while such vagueness does not destroy the value of a symbol as the rallying point for common sentiments, the gain that definiteness of meaning would give may be great. The word democracy is not incapable of accurate definition, indeed, it may be given various definitions all accurate as concepts. And any one of them can be made the *true* definition only by a consensus of those who employ the term.

Etymology does not determine the final meaning of words. Only slight acquaintance with their history is needed to make this fact plain. Sometimes the departure of words from their etymological meaning is slight, sometimes it is wide and even startling. The word democracy itself has passed through metamorphoses of meaning. Originally it had a purely political significance, but now we hear much about "democracy in industry," and "social democracy." A word is much like a basket into which may be put apples or potatoes or onions. And only when a consensus of usage has been established as to what it ought to carry can one be sure when he sees the basket what the bearer has in it.

Is it possible to discern the growth of such a consensus as to the meaning of this word as would enable us when we hear the word to know with reasonable certainty what meaning the user has put into it? The eighteenth century philosophy of "the natural rights of man," which was echoed in our Declaration of Independence, was so intent upon the abolition of *artificial* inequalities as to deny, or at least seem to deny natural inequalities. But it is pretty clear that in the present usage the word makes no such denial, and that whatever some may think the word *ought* or ought not to mean, it does in fact contain a significance that is not identical with "equality." Room has been made in it for differentiation and organization. All organization

implies differentiation and our society is highly and obviously and necessarily organized.

People have realized that democracy must admit natural inequalities and make room to include them. But they still feel that artificial inequalities should be abolished. On the contrary, much of the necessary inequality required by organization is, or must be artificial. Inequalities of place are indispensable. Of course, position should go to those who have natural fitness for it. But equal position cannot go to all who have equal natural fitness.

It is now generally felt that, while artificial inequality should be eliminated, inequality of position, power, and privilege that is based on natural superiority is necessary and unobjectionable in a democracy. On the contrary it is when special privilege claims to be based solely on natural superiority that it becomes most objectionable, undemocratic and intolerable. When those who have great place realize that there are others with equal natural gifts and merits who have no such place and power and privilege, and that their powers have been assigned them in order that they may perform a social function, and not as a reward for native excellence, that native excellence even of high and rare degree is not the exclusive possession of those to whom society assigns the leading rôles, then alone can we escape an undemocratic arrogance and injustice. It is indeed important that artificial inequalities should not be unnecessarily exaggerated but it is even more important that they should be recognized as artificial, in so far as they are so in fact.

The word democracy is gradually clarifying and defining itself with a meaning like the following: *Democracy is organization devised and administered with a balanced regard for the interests of all who participate in the organization, as contrasted with organization that is devised and*

*administered with disproportionate regard for the interests of the organizers.*

This definition is not complete because it emphasizes the aim of democracy, which is justice, to the exclusion of its method. Democracy is both an aim and also a method for achieving or approximating that aim. We have remarked that the present popular conception of democracy does not deny the necessity of organization, and organization implies differentiation and inequality of functions and powers. This is true wherever there is to be effective team work. Even in a football squad, coach, captain, manager, and quarter back have powers that the rank and file of the players do not possess. Organization necessarily implies ruling. And the more comprehensive the organized activities and the more numerous the participants the greater the necessity for rulers becomes. Herein lies the danger and the difficulty. The success of organization implies obedience to the rules of the organization. This is the primary requirement for success in democratic as in any other organization. The fitness of a people for democracy is first measured by the degree to which they realize the necessity. We have been accustomed to say that certain peoples have not been fit for democracy because after the majority had declared its will the minority, instead of submitting, got their guns. The habit of loyal acceptance of decisions reached by the adopted method and obedience to the law so long as it is the law is the first essential of fitness for democracy. A people is unfit for democracy until this necessity is not only recognized but firmly entrenched in popular sentiment. And in this it is clear that the fitness of the American people for democracy is far from complete. We may not expect the mass of any people to rise to the height of Socrates in this respect, but we must at least recognize the ideal which he exemplified.

The present democratic method of making laws is by free vote of those who must obey, resulting in a decision by majority. It may be right to rebel against laws that are made by a less democratic method. But a people that has the right to make its own laws has no right to break them.

But if the first essential of the method of democratic organization is obedience to the will of the majority, the second is coordinate with it, namely the right of the minority to struggle by free access to the minds of the people to change the decision. There is but one proper limitation to the freedom of speech and discussion in a democracy, namely: *there is no freedom to advocate the violation of law*. But there must be untrammelled freedom in advocating change in the law by legal process. Right and obligation, here as elsewhere, are correlative. The right of the majority to insist upon obedience to law by the minority implies the obligation of the majority not only to tolerate free advocacy by the minority of change in the law but to provide the means for such advocacy. The first step in developing the technique of democracy is to provide for the expression of the will of the majority. The second is to provide for the free formation of the will of the majority that is to be expressed. The former without the latter does not make democracy. The former we have provided by the universal and secret ballot. The second we have not provided. How this can be done will be discussed in a succeeding article.



## CHANGING THE CHILD'S BEHAVIOR BY INDIRECT METHODS

PHYLLIS BLANCHARD, PH. D.

and

RICHARD H. PAYNTER, JR., PH. D.

*Child Guidance Clinic No. 1, National Committee for Mental Hygiene*

FROM THE point of view of the group, human behavior is essentially of two kinds: that which conforms to group standards and is therefore socially acceptable, and that which deviates so far from these standards as to be socially unacceptable. In judging the behavior of children, adult standards are largely employed. Even though it be conceded that the child has not yet developed full responsibility for his conduct, whatever he does is approved or condemned with the thought of what his acts would mean were he grown up. This approbation and disapproval serves a utilitarian purpose in that it is one of the factors which modifies the conduct of the child, although many other influences also operate to this end. Long before the child has any conception of *right* and *wrong* he begins to classify certain acts in these categories from the attitude of his parents.

It is perhaps worthy of passing remark that the child, in diverging from adult codes, is often following closely the compulsion of his own particular social group, as represented in the gang or other entity. Yet from a broader social viewpoint, that part of the child's behavior which directly injures others or interferes with their rights, may still be considered unacceptable, even though it does con-

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the first of two articles by Drs. Blanchard and Paynter; the second one will be entitled "Changing the Child's Behavior by Direct Methods."

form to the requirements of his own little clique. Most flagrant of his sins are lying, stealing, quarrelsomeness (when carried beyond the usual boyish fights), and precocious sex behavior. Truancy, because of its law-breaking aspect, also comes within this division. There are other sets of behavior patterns of less social significance, but handicapping to the individual if permitted to persist unchanged. Here may be listed temper tantrums, masturbation, enuresis, and nervous habits of many kinds, as well as such traits as running away from home.

The child's behavior is the outgrowth of many interacting forces. From the formation of the earliest habits of sleeping and eating these influences are at work. The things the child sees and hears, the approval or disapproval which he receives at home, at school and at play, the movies he attends, the stories he reads, all the myriad influences of his environment are at work upon him, molding and remolding his behavior patterns and deepening the neural pathways of response.<sup>1</sup> How much of the child's actual conduct — or misconduct — is an outcome of his inheritance and how much is the result of the warping factors with which he comes into contact is still unsettled, although the controversy concerning heredity and environment is an old one.<sup>2</sup>

Watson's researches in infant psychology<sup>3</sup> have indicated with what facility and persistency habits of response are stamped into the nervous system through the everyday situations of the child's early life. Traces of these apparently commonplace responses may remain as deep-seated unhealthy emotional reactions to disrupt the child's har-

<sup>1</sup> See F. H. Allport's *Social Psychology* for the physiological basis of human behavior and a psychological analysis of social behavior.

<sup>2</sup> See Conklin, *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Man* for a rational discussion of the relative influences of heredity and environment.

mony and peace of mind. This ascribes a prominent rôle to environment even in the infancy period, when the child is generally considered to be unresponsive to much that goes on about him.

Very often, the nervously unstable parent creates for the child an atmosphere conducive to the development of instability, so that there is perhaps a double handicap of heredity and environment in many instances. If we are to be at all optimistic regarding the possibility of changing human behavior, however, we must assume that a reasonable share is the outcome of other than hereditary forces, and that changing conditions which have produced a certain type of conduct will tend to change it, also.

From this viewpoint, the first step toward changing behavior is to make a preliminary study of the child from all possible angles. As complete a picture as possible of his heredity, his physical condition, his early development, his present social surroundings, his character and conduct, his intellectual endowment, his educational achievement, his abilities and disabilities should be obtained. In short, every possible bit of information that can throw light upon the origin of his behavior difficulties, or offer hints as to how they may be changed, should be available. The initial picture of the child is not always accurate in all details, but finer points as to his home and school relationships and his own mental life, are often discovered through repeated contacts with the child, his parents and his teachers. Thus, at the same time that plans for changing the child's behavior are being put into operation, new things are constantly being learned which may modify and redirect these plans.

➤ The methods employed in changing behavior must be as varied as the different types of individualities toward

\* Watson, J. B., and R. R., *Studies in Infant Psychology*.

whom they are directed. The same type of misconduct may spring from varied causes, and calls for different handling. Such a common misdemeanor as stealing may spring from a multiplicity of sources. Of a dozen children who steal, no two may be actuated by the same psychological motives. In one child, hunger may be the fundamental craving which he seeks to satisfy in this manner. One boy after being kept on a rigid diet long after the necessity for obeying the physician's orders in this respect had disappeared, began stealing lunches from his schoolmates and taking money from his mother's purse to buy food. Many children take money to buy the sweets which are not included in their diet. Children who are runaways from home often resort to stealing to satisfy their hunger.

Play is another motive which may be the source of stealing. This is particularly true of poor children or of children of foreign parentage, whose parents cannot satisfy or do not understand the child's need for toys, since playthings have been so little a part of their own lives. Stealing money to go to movies, circuses and other forms of commercialized amusement is closely allied to the play motive. In other cases, the stealing becomes woven into the play life of the child, in which he loves to "act out" the stories of pirates and robbers which he has seen on the screen or read in books. In one boy, the dramatization of the "Ten Commandments" was no less a part of his make-believe play than that of the "Sea Hawk," except that the latter took him to Juvenile Court after he had looted an apartment at the head of his robber gang. Desire for adventure and excitement is another motive in stealing not so far removed from the dramatic motive.

Healy has frequently pointed out the connection between precocious sex experiences and stealing,<sup>4</sup> in which

<sup>4</sup> See his *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*.

the latter act becomes a substitute for the former. This is usually a result of being initiated into sex matters and stealing by the same companions and at about the same time. One eight-year-old boy was told by his playmates of their various robberies, and was subjected to various sex experiences at their hands. He resisted their efforts to induce him to enter into their sex play, covering his eyes whenever they tried to persuade him to witness their sex activities with each other. Not until his parents brought him to a clinic because of their anxiety over his stealing, did he reveal the experiences which had worried him for months.

Occasionally, a child is taught to steal by parents or other adults. More often children learn this habit from their companions. Imitation is one of the chief means of learning for a child, but he can learn bad things as well as good. The psychic contagion of the gang, which involves a group of boys in stealing escapades, adds the force of crowd suggestion to this natural tendency to imitate.

Some children steal because it is a means of compensating for their deficiencies in other fields of endeavor. One boy (an endocrine case) so obese that he was unable to compete in games and sports, retained the respect of his playmates, and incidentally his own self-respect, by becoming a regular "crook" and boasting of his robberies and trips to Juvenile Court.

Adolescents are often impelled to steal to satisfy their longing for articles of personal adornment and clothing. The child who is making a collection sometimes steals articles to add to his hoard of treasures.

It is obvious that different methods must be adopted to change the child's behavior in each of the above instances. While regulation of diet and improvement of physical condition would be efficacious in some cases, it would be use-



less in others, and while a supply of playthings might remove the external cause of stealing in some instances, in others it would have no effect. In each case, it is necessary to find some socially acceptable means of satisfying the particular craving which has hitherto been gratified through misconduct. This in itself would be sufficient to tax one's ingenuity, but there is the added and superimposed matter of habit formation and conditioned emotional response to be taken into account. When the child has found some habitual satisfaction for physiological, psychological, or social cravings, it is increasingly difficult to supply equal satisfaction in another form. Here, again, the individual child must be carefully studied, and the method of making the substitution adapted to his peculiar make-up.

The more intelligent child may be appealed to on rational grounds, and his voluntary effort in overcoming the bad habit and replacing it by the socially desirable one may be secured. In other children, an emotional appeal may prove more effectual. The child who is fond of reading may have his ideals of conduct influenced by the type of literature which is provided for him, while reading material may be wasted on other children. In giving the child desirable ways of compensating for a feeling of inferiority, his abilities and disabilities must be inventoried, and his activities guided into a field in which he has a good chance to surpass his competitors, or at least to hold his own sufficiently to win their admiration and build up his own feeling of competency.

Thus the changing of the child's behavior becomes an infinitely complex procedure, always to be adapted to the particular child, no matter what his form of misconduct. Even where similar motives are involved, the problem presents varied aspects because of differences as to intelli-

gence, physical state, emotional make-up, personality trends, and varying environmental circumstances. In general, the procedure must be adapted to the individual's age, character, and intelligence, to his problems — their kind and longevity, and to his environmental situation.

Studies made in various parts of the country, report that from 65 per cent to 75 per cent of children with behavior difficulties have come from homes in which the parental training was markedly at fault in some respect.<sup>5</sup> Harsh disciplinary measures, inconsistency, and overindulgence all have their bad effects on character formation. Disharmony between parents is often projected into the child's life with disastrous results. Imitation of parental attitudes, as in the case of the child who becomes anti-social in reflection of his mother's paranoid ideas (of persecution), is often a factor in misconduct. Even more common is the imitation of psychoneurotic tendencies of parents by children who whine and complain of physical ills although actually in excellent condition.

Since the child's misconduct is so often a reaction to his home situation, one of the first steps toward changing the child's behavior is to induce a change of behavior in his parents. The beginnings of delinquency in one child lay in the constant quarreling of his father and mother, which made his home life so unhappy that he continually ran away. Repeated arrests did not discourage him, since he was happier in the detention home at the Juvenile Court than in his own home. From running away, he gradually drifted into stealing, at first food, and later breaking into cash registers to get money to supply his needs. When the effect of the parental relationship upon this boy's life was revealed to his mother, she broke down, confessed that

<sup>5</sup> Clark, Willis, W., *A Statistical Study of 102 Truants*.

Blanchard and Paynter, *The Problem Child*.

she had ceased to love her husband and was responsible for most of the quarrels. She had even gone so far as to misrepresent him to the small son in order to persuade him to share her dislike. When she realized the effect all this had had upon the boy, she was willing to attempt a reconciliation with her husband for his sake. In many instances, such domestic readjustments are a necessary preliminary to the removal of emotional conflicts from the child's life and improvement in his behavior is then possible of accomplishment.

Another phase of the work with parents is changing their attitude toward the child and his problems. At the first flagrant outbreak of the child, the parents, in their wounded pride and angry disappointment, withdraw their love and affection and in despair entertain the thought of boarding school, military academy, or reformatory. They seek to turn over to an institution the handling of problems for which their own methods of treating the child may have been largely responsible. In any event, this attitude usually incites the puzzled and bewildered culprit to plunge further into unsocial behavior. Therefore, one of the first measures is to change the parents' outlook, to make them feel that having assumed the responsibility for a child by bringing it into the world, they cannot thus lightly thrust aside that responsibility at the first dissatisfaction which it brings them. At the same time, the father and mother must often be brought to a realization of how their own methods of child rearing have gradually laid the foundation for this serious type of misconduct.

To a great extent, the success of efforts to change the child's behavior depends upon the stamina of the parents, upon their intelligent grasp of the situation, the sympathy for the child's position which can be created in them, and the initiative which they show in working out specific de-

tails of a general plan. It is no small task to turn the focus of the parents' emotions from wounded self-esteem and vanity (for just as they identify themselves with the child in that proportion they are hurt by his misconduct) to an understanding of and sympathy with the child. Nor is it always easy for the father and mother to really assimilate the suggestions which they receive, so that they carry these general principles over into each new situation as it arises. Yet the success or failure of their dealings with the child depends in large measure upon this aspect of their attitude toward him.

Two illustrations will serve to amplify this point. There was one father, a religious fanatic, who believed that if he could inspire sufficient fear of God in his son all would be well. The son was incorrigible at school and was known to all the neighborhood as a petty thief. His misdemeanors continued in spite of the father's attempts to instill religious fear into his life by locking him in the cellar with threats of eternal hell-fire, or beating him and then requiring him to pray for forgiveness of his sins. After listening to advice as to proper methods of discipline, the father carried out the suggestions in every instance which had been specifically mentioned, but reverted to his old ways of management as soon as new situations arose. Although he no longer whipped his son or locked him in the cellar, since these things had been particularly discountenanced, he began to "starve him into submission," and also hit upon the excellent idea of dressing the mother in a sheet and sending her out as a ghost to scare the recalcitrant ten-year-old. Needless to say, the young delinquent did not improve under his father's new methods any more than under the old.

Another father, with a son of about the same age, who had the reputation of being the worst boy in school, entered

so whole-heartedly and intelligently into the plans for changing the boy's behavior that he became the pivotal factor. Once he understood that his foster son's conduct grew out of the feeling that no one really loved him or cared for him, the father became his companion and pal, going far beyond the specific suggestions that had been made to him. He taught the boy to box, took hikes with him, spent evenings telling him fascinating stories and showing him the mysteries of machinery, and in every way made him feel that here at last was someone who had a real personal interest and affection. Although all this necessitated considerable sacrifice of his own social life on the father's part, he felt amply repaid by the increased stability of the boy, the gradual replacement of his egocentric attitude by frankness in facing his difficulties, and his new regard for truthfulness.

Since such active participation of the parents is necessary in carrying out the program for the child, it becomes essential to study the various ways of appealing to them in order to gain their cooperation. Here, again, the methods of presentation must be adapted to individual idiosyncracies. In one instance, suitable literature on child psychology may be the most effective means of changing the parents' attitude; in another, a complete explanation of the child's behavior on rationalistic grounds serves as a working hypothesis; in still other cases — and these are perhaps more numerous — the emotional appeal is the one which brings forth response from the parents. However the plan is presented, once it has been taken over by the parents, and incorporated into their own conduct, the effect upon the child follows.

It is surprising to find how many parents fail to enter into the lives of their children in any vital manner. Lack of understanding of the child's viewpoint, and of compan-



ionship with him, is widely existent. When the parent enters into the child's life, when he plays with him, reads to him, goes to shows with him, a comradeship is established which will do much toward molding the child's behavior for the better.

Just as the home situation has much to do with the child's good or bad behavior, so, too, certain phases of the school environment have similar influences upon his conduct. It is not surprising, therefore, that adjustment of the school situation is a material aid in clearing up his difficulties, and assists in his general adaptation. One of the most common sources of trouble in school is misgrading. Different investigations have shown that from sixty to seventy per cent of the children in the public schools are misgraded for either life, age, or mental ability.<sup>6</sup> The child who is brighter than his fellows, and makes accelerated progress in school, often is placed in a class where the others are his superiors in age and physical development, so that he is debarred from equal opportunity in their competitive games. Despite his superior intelligence, this situation may breed a feeling of inferiority, for which he will try to compensate by all kinds of peculiar behavior. The dull boy, who repeats grade after grade is even more out of place with the smaller children of his class, whom he is apt to hurt in his play because of his greater strength and physical development, thus inadvertently becoming a behavior problem.

Misgrading in respect to mental ability also has its problems. The child who is super-intelligent for his grade may develop bad habits of day-dreaming and idling away his time, instead of building up habits of concentration and energy of effort. On the other hand, the dull child, who

<sup>6</sup> See *The Intelligence of School Children*, by L. M. Terman, pp. 113-114. Also Blanchard and Paynter, *The Problem Child*.

has been promoted until he can no longer grasp the work of his grade, becomes uninterested, develops a chronic attitude of discouragement, has a marked feeling of inferiority, or perhaps escapes from his impossible situation by truanting.

Thus the proper school placement has much to do with the child's behavior adjustments. In developing special classes for the exceptional child, opportunity classes for the gifted child, and rearranging the regular grade work into three-fold divisions for the bright, average, and dull children, the school is doing a large part in averting behavior difficulties and in alleviating those which are already in existence. Many a child has changed his behavior completely through the simple matter of some such school adjustment.

The child's attitude toward his teacher, and hers toward him, are also reflected in his behavior. Many children are a problem with one teacher, through some clash in personalities, but become models in conduct when transferred to another teacher. Sometimes these incompatibilities are unavoidable, and result from the peculiarities of the teacher and pupil, but more often they arise out of some misunderstanding. In the latter case, the situation may sometimes be remedied by appealing to the teacher in a similar way that an appeal is made to the parent under analogous circumstances. The responsibility of the teacher is less than that of the parent, and the pupil who is a behavior problem is only one of a large group for whom she must answer, nevertheless, in a surprising number of instances, she will prove as interested in the effort to help the child as the parents themselves.

The relationship between parent and teacher should be one of mutual cooperation for the benefit of the child. If there are unfavorable criticisms to be made on either side,

these should be kept from the child's knowledge. Antagonism to school discipline has been initiated in many children when they overheard father or mother find fault with teacher's methods, and felt that they could turn to their parents for support in their rebellion against her authority.

(To be Concluded in the Next Issue)



THE COMMERCIAL monarchy we might have maintained exists as such no longer. Group control has been substituted. But with group control we are still an oligarchy, and still a long way from our working people. Filene, *A Merchant's Horizon*, p. 11.

FOR EXAMPLE, one of the questions raised in a recent book was as to whether industry must not some day recognize the years of service that a workman puts into a business as an investment of time equal in value to the money investment of another man represented by his holdings of stock. Filene, *A Merchant's Horizon*, p. 25.

NATIONS should cooperate one with another for three motives: (1) because they show an identity in their psychological structure; (2) because their individual and immediate interests demand cooperation; (3) because their cultural ideals may be fully realized only within a human society—that is, a society that goes beyond the bounds of national or local limitations in order to adjust itself more adequately to the best aspirations of human nation. Petrescu, *The Principles of Comparative Sociology*, p. 180.

## THE TREND OF ANTHROPOLOGY

FAY-COOPER COLE

*University of Chicago*

A STUDENT in the social sciences recently remarked, "You Anthropologists have gone to the furthestmost parts of the earth, have been eaten by cannibals, scalped by Indians, have been ship-wrecked, snow bound, and wasted by tropical fevers, in order to gather facts about man and his society; and now you have returned home to find that others have appropriated your results. What are you going to do about it? If other sciences have taken up anthropological problems at home, what is left for you but to return to your cannibals and pygmies?"

His question only raises other queries. Why did the Anthropologist leave home in the first place? What has he been doing through these years? Is he now really returning home to compete with the less venturesome members of the family?

The answer requires a brief review of the family history. There has always been a lively interest in man and his society, but it was not until after the middle of the last century that enough was known of man the world over to make possible studies into the origin and development of his culture. About that time certain members of the family came to the conclusion that if we wished to understand our own society we must go to those groups which most closely approximated earlier conditions. Few real studies of primitive people were then in existence, but missionaries, traders, and travelers had brought back many inter-

esting bits of information which seemed to fit in perfectly with the prevailing ideas of the period.

The scientific mind of the time was obsessed with the idea that the facts of organic evolution could be applied to all other lines of development, and so it is not surprising that an evolutionary scheme for man's society was developed, and all stray bits of evidence were eagerly seized and given their proper places.

The result was a complete and logical story. Society was traced from the promiscuous horde to the cyclopean family, to the maternal organization, thence to the paternal, and finally to modern conditions. Man was pictured as a hunter, slowly developing through pastoral and agricultural stages to city life; and thus all his activities and beliefs were held to pass from the simple to the complex. Back of all this was the idea of the rational individual asking questions of nature, and of the psychic unity of mankind which led to similar results in widely separated parts of the world. The very simplicity of the scheme argued for its validity. But as more became known concerning the existing primitive groups it was evident that some would not conform.

In America many of the highly developed tribes were found with totemism and the maternal form of government, while the most primitive groups showed no traces of either. Again, in Malaysia the pygmies and the least advanced of the Malay failed to furnish any proof of early promiscuity, or the maternal form of government; but the most highly developed people in central Sumatra exhibited the matriarchy in full vigor.

Early workers in Physical Anthropology found no difficulty in arranging the various races according to their degree of development from the simian ancestor but intensive studies quickly showed the fallacy of such classifica-



tions, for while the negro stood lowest in some respects, the white was found equally low in others.

The evident failure of the evolutionary scheme led to a complete change in method. Theorizing and psychological interpretations were put aside until full information could be gathered. The cry was for facts. Anthropological workers began intensive studies of primitive peoples in all parts of the world.

Standardized measurements enabled the Physical Anthropologist to make fine distinctions even between closely related groups. He was able to measure accurately the influence of a change of environment on man's body; he recorded the results of race mixture. The culture, language, history, and archaeology of each group encountered was carefully studied in the belief that having a full knowledge of the existing peoples it might be possible to express as laws the processes which had made for the upbuilding and disintegration of cultures and peoples.

It was held as self evident that we could hope to determine mental characteristics only when we have a full knowledge of a group and its contact with others. Traits which we might be inclined to label racial characteristics and hence to consider as something innate might be nothing more than standardized social conduct. An excellent example of this was afforded by the Malay custom of *amuck*.

We were told of the mental instability of the Malay; how suddenly and without provocation a most docile member of the race might seize his weapons and in a frenzy kill friend and foe until he was cut down. So wide spread was the custom that it might stand as one of our best examples of racial characteristics. But when the British and Dutch gave orders not to kill these men, but to capture them and put them to work on the roads, a change took place. No

longer did the man who ran *amuck* die in a blaze of glory, his weapons in his hands. Instead he toiled along the roadside with thieves and other petty offenders. The glory had vanished and this "racial characteristic" declined almost to the vanishing point.

Anthropology has been seeking after laws governing human conduct but it has insisted that such laws cannot be discovered until intensive studies have made known the history and culture of the various groups of mankind.

This has been the goal of the Anthropologist, but so intent has he been in the collection of material that for a score or more of years he sought only to present his findings in regard to a single group and was off again to continue his studies.

But now, having accumulated a vast fund of information, he has begun to compare, to analyze, and to draw conclusions based on facts, and there have appeared such studies as Boas' *Mind of Primitive Man*, Wissler's *Man and Culture*, Goldenweiser's *Early Civilization*, Lowie's *Primitive Culture*, Kroeber's *Anthropology*, Sapir's *Language*, and many others.

The Anthropologist is interesting himself more and more in the fundamental problems of our daily life. The studies of Boas and others on our immigrant groups have indicated that not even those characteristics of race which have proved to be most persistent in their homes remain the same under new surroundings, and the question is raised as to whether there is a corresponding change in mental makeup in the children of immigrants.

The work of Sullivan and Paschall on the Mexican children of Tucson indicates the value of Physical Anthropology when used in connection with psychological tests; while extensive observations on the growth of school children in various parts of the country are furnishing valu-

able data on the effects of retardation and acceleration. In the study of eugenics the aid of Anthropology is indispensable.

The practical value of anthropological studies has long been recognized by the leading colonial powers, while our own success with the hill tribes of the Philippines is in no small measure due to the studies carried on in the early days under the direction of the late Dean C. Worcester, Dr. David Barrows, and Dr. A. E. Jenks. Every attempt was made to understand the social, economic, and mental life of the tribesmen, so that as our government was pushed into the interior it might correspond as nearly as possible with native custom. The result has been a minimum of friction. Japan, on the other hand, has sought to impose her laws and customs on the people of the neighboring island of Formosa, and as a consequence is now waging a war of extermination against the hill tribes.

The Anthropologist believes that the same sort of studies which have revealed to us the life and social heritage of primitive man can be used equally well with the alien groups which now make up a considerable part of our population, but he holds that the best place to make these studies is in the home land, rather than in New York or Chicago.

Detailed investigation of the Italian peasant in Italy, or the Mexican in Mexico will not only furnish sound information for all workers with these groups in America, but will give us an opportunity to observe what happens when two known cultures and languages meet.

The Anthropologist had returned home, at least for a part of his time, not to compete with the other members of the family, but to offer his results, and whatever he may have developed in the way of method toward the solution of our common problems.

## THE IMPERSONAL CONFESSION AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

READ BAIN

*University of Washington*

### I

THE INTERESTING and instructive article by Professor E. S. Bogardus discussing the theory and technique of social research thru exploration of personal experience suggested this paper.<sup>1</sup> While no criticism of his brief article is implied, I want to present a type of personal experience as a means of social research which he does not mention and which I have not seen presented elsewhere. I refer to the "impersonal confession."

The psychology of confession is well understood and has long held a prominent place in social theory and practice. Confession is one of the cornerstones of the Catholic Church polity; it plays an important part in esthetic theory (cf. Goethe's statement that all his works are merely fragments of one long self-confession); the Methodist testimonial meeting and all prayers are largely confessional; psychoanalysis is based upon it. Broadly speaking, the most important part of the material for the social psychologist in the sources of personal experience referred to above is the personal confession.

Confession is based on the social nature of man and his instinctive desire to "tell." It is only by "telling" in some form that we can objectify our experiences. In the case of "evil," we triumph over it by confessing it. Insofar as we gain sympathy, we feel justified in our own eyes, i. e., in

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:294-303.

the eyes of others. In any event, we are likely to get advice. "In opening ourselves to another we are impelled to imagine how our conduct appears to him; we take an outside view of ourselves."<sup>2</sup> Every confession is thus more or less an art product, a species of sublimation, but in it, our "real" attitudes are probably more clearly revealed than in any other type of personal experience.

This "reflected self" nature of the confession makes it safe to assume that the confessant is painting as "pretty a picture" of himself as he can. Every life story, every letter, every confession of whatever sort, is a more or less elaborate attempt at self-justification. As Dr. Park says, the confessant gives "good" reasons for his conduct, but not the real ones. He is always attempting to regain, or to maintain, his self-respect. Hence, he always takes his cue from his confessor who is thus inevitably made *particeps criminis* with the confessant.

This fact must always be kept in mind when social attitudes are being deduced from personal experiences of any kind. "It makes a great difference to whom we confess; the higher the character of the person whose mind we imagine, the more enlightening and elevating is the view of ourselves that we get,"<sup>3</sup> — and *give*, ought to be added. Men cannot confess to people (or to gods) with whom they have no likeness. Hence, the necessity for a broad and versatile "sympathetic insight" on the part of the one who would utilize this means of social research. He must "be all things to all men."

## II

Dr. Bogardus writes, "To strangers, one says little, to casual acquaintances, not much more; to friends, often an extended justification; but to intimates, one makes a com-

<sup>2</sup> Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, 1st edition, 1902, p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> Cooley, *ibid.*, p. 356.



plete statement."<sup>4</sup> This must be interpreted in view of the foregoing remarks. Moreover, I think it overlooks a very important type of personal experience which may be utilized in social research, viz., *personal confession to strangers and casual acquaintances, or what we may call impersonal confession.*

There are some people who are incapable of making a "complete statement to intimates" who are able to discuss their problems freely with persons whom they never expect to meet again. Furthermore, the "confession to intimates" is more likely to be falsified by the self-justifying impulse mentioned above. Sombart's "sociology of the stranger" gives the cue to the psychology of the impersonal confession. The stranger supplies the conditions of impersonality, objectivity, and anonymity which are necessary to enable the confessant to "relieve his mind," gain the catharsis that comes from "unburdening his soul," without sacrificing his self-respect.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, he raises his opinion of himself by presenting his case to a sympathetic hearer, receives advice and consolation, and gets an objective view of himself.

Thus there is sound sociology back of the Catholic confessional. The "professional confessional" of the doctor and lawyer emphasizes the necessity for impersonality. The "professional attitude" is characterized by scientific impersonality. The professional man is always something of a stranger to his clients. Howells makes use of this fact in *A Modern Instance* (p. 432), when Marcia Hubbard tells her troubles to Atherton, the lawyer. "She did not seem ashamed before him of the sorrows which he felt it a sacrilege to know, and in a blind, instinctive way he perceived that in proportion as he was a stranger it was possible for her to bare her disgrace in his presence." Many

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 298.

<sup>5</sup> W. Sombart, *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, pp. 292-307. Adapted by Park and Burgess, *Introduction to Science of Sociology*, 317-22.

a man who would have been psychologically incapable of it in his own home town has confessed his sins and been gloriously "converted" in the impersonal atmosphere of some remote mission. The popularity of such anonymous magazines as *True Stories*, *I Confess*, *Confessions*, and the "advice" columns of the daily papers reveal the need for impersonal confession.

I remember the case of a "successful" business man who told me the story of his marital difficulties one night on the rear platform of an observation car. We had met the night before and talked of fishing. He made a very "complete statement" although I could scarcely be termed an "intimate." The next afternoon his wife and I were sitting together in almost the same place. She said, "Jim *never* talks to anyone; I couldn't *imagine* what you found to talk about till one-thirty." I said "fishing and politics," — and added that "her husband seemed to be a great fisherman." She replied that "he *was*; he'd go off on long trips two or three times a year; but *she* wouldn't go, — she *hated* fishing; he just couldn't seem to *understand* her." And in a little while she made *her* confession. I felt somewhat as I imagine a priest feels — but I had learned a good deal of sociology.

Another "impersonal confession" which was particularly enlightening was the story a crippled crook told me one night in a dingy Chicago "noodle joint." I had no way of checking the accuracy of his rather astounding "facts," but his social attitudes were crystal clear. The latter part of his story (after we had become "good friends") was a confession that he had "sized me up wrong and started out to string me proper." But when he found I was not one of "them newspaper stiffs" he was duly sorry for the unintended insult and tried to make amends by "handing me a straight line." He was a very crooked lad, legs and soul, —

and very proud of both. His paralyzed legs were his best business assets and his clever crookedness gave him satisfactory status in his world. He had a very rigid "code" to which he adhered as closely, I suppose, as many respected public officials do to theirs.

## III

If the "impersonal confession" is as common as I believe it to be, how can it be used in social research? Obviously, it has its limitations. Such material cannot be accumulated as rapidly as Thomas gathered the letters of the Polish peasants, nor in such quantity. However, the impersonal confession can be used in a methodical way. Anderson did it in his work on the hobo; Thomas to some extent in *The Unadjusted Girl*. A man interested in a particular problem can deliberately hunt up his specimens and get their stories if he has the technique. The essence of the method is a facility for "putting yourself in his place," in a one-to-one, face-to-face relation, and care to record the results before they get "cold."

Most people, casually met, want to talk and have valuable material for the hunter of "social attitudes." Even though they have no specific problem in mind, I believe students of sociology would find it well worth while to develop the habit of "drawing people out." "Take here the mainest lesson — less from books, less from the schools," as the Good Gray Poet urges. The sociologist cannot be too deeply immersed in the "thick realities of life."

If a man has a particular problem in mind, he can usually quite easily discover the attitudes of his casual acquaintances regarding it. I have no moral scruples against "confiding" in a stranger sufficiently to induce him to "unburden his soul." If I am interested in a particular problem, I can ascertain his attitude regarding it, as well

as get his "real" confession. I file it for future use. He will "little mark nor long remember what I say," but his revelation is valuable social data. Nor am I disabusing his "confidence" so long as I treat his confession in an objective, impersonal, professional manner.

I am convinced that the "impersonal confession" is a field of social research which can be made to yield a rich harvest if sociologists will cultivate it systematically. Whether it solves specific problems or not, I am sure that men who acquire skill in causing strangers and casual acquaintances to "confess" will be better sociologists for it. The confessant may be greatly benefited as well.



RADIO communication is developing apace. From a million dollars a year to a million dollar expenditure daily is a phenomenal growth in four years. Secretary Hoover has made an important forecast by advocating a regularly organized interconnecting of broadcast stations on a national basis "with nationally organized and directed programs" daily.

For some time a political approach to international adjustments has been made through an organization such as a League of Nations. Likewise, Christianity has been working at the problem through spreading its doctrine of the "brotherhood of man." Commercial and big business organizations interested in international trade have been in world stability. David Starr Jordan's peace plan lines up the educational forces of the world in a program for analyzing the problem and for working out rational solutions on scientific grounds.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SERVICE

JANE P. CLARK

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IN A DAY of growing world-consciousness, social work is becoming increasingly international in point of view and is thinking no longer in terms of one community alone or even of one country but of the world and humanity at large. Perhaps in no other phase of activity is there greater need for such an outlook, for wherever social work is carried on, it is confronted with the manifold and difficult problems arising as a result of the migration from one part of the earth to another of people of differing nationality, custom and tradition. The international attitude of mind, which respects the integrity of each country and its ways while bound by the point of view of no especial one, alone can hope successfully to cope with those problems.

Besides the legislative method of dealing with migration, there is need for an international system of social service, attempting from an international rather than a national point of view to mitigate the disasters to individuals resulting from migration. Whether such an organization should eventually be absorbed by a section of the League of Nations or whether it could render more effective service as an independent agency, is yet an open question. The vital need for the present is for an international organization which will explore the extent of the problem, and develop the channels for meeting it. Governmental and even private national agencies, no matter how humanitarian their motives may be, must needs work primarily from the point of view of the country in which they are located and cannot envisage or solve the whole problem.



An international system of social service should deal not only with the problems of the migrant en route but also with certain more far-reaching and more difficult phases of aiding in adaptation to the new environment and of helping lessen the strain to which migrating families are often subjected because of the enforced separation of their members. The difficulties of families necessarily separated for an indefinite period is of particular importance in America since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, for by it many thousands of near as well as distant relatives of foreign-born citizens and residents are denied admission to the United States. There is a definite responsibility now as never before for devising a means by which help and interest can be extended to the far-off relatives who may not now come in. The man who is denied his second citizenship papers because his family is in Europe and who is on that account a supposedly less stable citizen than the man with family ties in the United States, and who is unable to bring over his family unless he is a full American citizen, is one of the many human as well as legal problems and one toward whom a responsibility must be felt.

An attempt to bring together data on these phases of migration which are international as well as social in nature is being made under the International Migration Service; the first task it has set itself is to devise a procedure for dealing with the two phases of migration, the needs of actual migrants and problems of the adaptive process requiring adjustment in foreign countries. An international organization, necessarily non-political, non-partisan, and non-sectarian, with headquarters in London and bureaus in nine countries, it provides a service for the adjustment of the social problems of individuals requiring expert social investigation and treatment in more than one country. It attempts to lessen unwise emigration by investigation of conditions at both ends of the journey; aids in communi-

cation with relatives; supplies reliable information about procedure, transmission of money, and costs; prevents exploitation and provides care in emergencies. Its service for residents involves locating and communicating with relatives, adjusting questions of property, citizenship, guardianship and care of children, when international factors are involved. Naturally the two types of service are often so closely interwoven as to become indistinguishable.

In its work, the International Migration Service not only uses its own bureaus but collaborates with existing local and national organizations, such as International Institutes, Travelers' Aid, relief and family welfare societies, community agencies and Red Cross chapters, for the help which each is best fitted to render. Conversely, it is consulted by many such agencies when they have need of investigation and service in cases complicated by international factors.

The story of little Armenian Araxie will serve to illustrate one of the many types of problem presented and the method of dealing with it undertaken by the International Migration Service:

When a baby of not much over one, Araxie had been captured and taken far into the interior of Turkey to live a life of incredible cruelty amidst the nomadic Afhsar tribe. She wandered with them until she was eight years old, when the Near East Relief discovered her and sent her to one of their orphanages, where for the first time in her life she heard the word *school*. There, too, she first learned that she had a father, for by careful investigation, the Near East Relief had been able to trace him. Thinking Araxie dead like her mother and two older sisters, he had been long since in America and was a prosperous American citizen.

Well able to care for her and give her a good education, he lost no time in sending for her, so she soon arrived at Ellis Island. Though an unusually large and well developed child for her age, Araxie had nevertheless the shyness of a child of three, especially when a man

approached her. She was terrified at the sight of the uniformed officials on the island and sure that they were Turkish officers, so despite the regular attempt made when testing immigrants to allow somewhat for fear, she was classified as "feeble-minded" and ordered deported.

One morning soon after, Araxie started back over the long journey, her father through some mistake not even notified of the day of deportation. Frantic at the thought of the child again going to Turkey to a future of which no one knew, the father appealed to the International Migration Service. A cable was sent to France and small Araxie was taken from the boat by the Migration worker at Marseilles and put in charge of one of the most able psychologists in France.

After long and patient observation, his unhesitating verdict was that, despite her tragic childhood, she was normal mentally, and but needed care and interest and family life to make her forget the impressions of her early years. Gradually, under the care of the International Migration Service, she has been responding to interest and school and is making excellent progress. Her father in America is confident as to her present and her future and is sending money regularly for her support and education until final plans can be arranged for her. Whether the service to little migrating Araxie or to her resident father was greater is an open question, but it is certain that in dealing with both the services of an international organization were necessary.

Instances of international social complications might be multiplied indefinitely, but these will serve to show some of the problems presented to the International Migration Service and the attempts made at dealing with them. Social work at long range is a new and challenging field of endeavor, for it is one that regards the legal, health, and social problems of individuals in the new light of the international point of view. The International Migration Service came into existence as late as 1921, and so international social service is a comparatively new concept but it is one that in its future development may form not only a new chapter in social work but also in international relations.

## THE TURNOVER OF LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY

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IN RECENT years, social research has bent more and more effort upon the study of the person and types of persons as a means to delineating social processes. This attention to the element of personality has led to the development of the concept of human resources as another avenue to the scientific analysis of the community. The human resources of the community may conveniently be divided into (1) ability, (2) wealth, and (3) leadership. It is this last factor with which we shall deal in this paper.

Leadership is a social phenomenon and its study offers a point of approach to the understanding of social life. Leaders are collective representations. In times of change, the processes of selection draw out of the existing population new traits of human nature for leadership, or create the desired qualities by developing the temperamental elements of the oncoming generation. The poets have remarked that "new times demand new faces." Turnover of leadership, therefore, serves as an index of change in society. The history of the industrial revolution offers an illustration of how new leaders appeared upon the scene to effect the momentous changes of that era.

This confused recasting of the economic world transfers the rôle played by the capitalists of the late Middle Ages to a class of new men. Merchants accustomed to the routine of mercantilism and to state protection are pushed aside.

We do not see them pushing forward into the career which opens itself before them. Once again, it is new men, enterprising spirits, and sturdy characters which profit by the circumstances. At most, the old capitalists, transformed into landed proprietors, play still an active rôle in the exploitation of the mines, because of the necessary dependence of that industry upon the possessors of the soil, but it can be safely affirmed that those who have presided over the gigantic progress of international economy, of the exuberant activity which affected the whole world, were at the time of the Renaissance, parvenus, self-made men.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing case furnishes an example of the interaction between leadership and social change. "Social life is in a continuous flux. Human beings are developing or retrograding, and social relationships are integrating and expanding, or disintegrating and disappearing. Leaders are rising or falling; social processes are multiplying and becoming increasingly complex, or are shrinking and slowing up. Persons are continually making new associations and breaking up old ones. Groups evolve, rise into societary prominence, and then succumb to internal weaknesses. Institutions are created, gather power, render service, and then are modified and merge into new ones. Social standards are formed today, and tomorrow others are substituted for them; social values today are, tomorrow are not. It is within these tides of incessant change that persons become leaders, and that leadership is nourished."<sup>2</sup> Thus, we see that the turnover of leadership is one phase of the come and go of social life.

The author has studied the turnover of leadership in a community of 30,000 population in central Illinois. The chief methods used consisted of (1) working out a natural

<sup>2</sup> Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, p. 447.

<sup>1</sup> Pirenne, "The Stages of the Social History of Capitalism, *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, p. 500.



history of leadership in the community, and (2) obtaining communal life histories of leaders.

Material for the natural history was obtained from local documents and records, local histories, and from old residents. Such data yielded the investigator more than a mere succession of events and names: types of leaders and natural periods stood out. The communal life history consisted of material centering upon the participation of the person in the local community. The chief things stressed in such accounts of persons are the residential and occupational history, abilities, interests, institutional contacts and status in the local life.

The successive types of leaders in the history of this particular community were as follows: (1) the pioneer, (2) the *booster* or *speculator*, (3) the business enterpriser, (4) the public and semi-public official. Other varieties of leaders existed along with each one of these four types but the latter stood out as the most prominent and characteristic developments during their respective periods, and constituted the chief human resource for the community. The first class consisted of those who settled the community and brought in the germs of most of the present institutions. They were all omni-competent men with only slight tendencies toward the presence of specialized abilities. The *booster* replaced the *pioneer* although the latter were still living in the community. For, in the speculative period of the middle west before 1850, qualities won favor which the pioneer type did not possess. However, the *pioneer* still had a function. On the days of celebrations, when the community paid veneration to its past, this pioneer type was trotted out and used as a communal symbol. The business enterpriser type came in around 1870 to found most of the present industries and commercial institutions of the city. During the last four or five decades, this com-

munity has given up its former commercial and industrial ambitions to become instead an educational and cultural center. Not only the presence of many public and semi-public institutions within the city but also the nature of its present economic life justifies us in calling the community a "service station" for the surrounding territory. Along with these changes in this community has gone a turnover of leadership. The chief human resources of this city today consist of the abilities and leadership of what we may call the "public and quasi-public officials and functionaries." Publicists, officers of institutions, judges, politicians, district superintendents and their like make up a very conspicuous type of resident. Business men do not bulk large in the community leadership, and among those that are prominent, cultural traits are a necessary basis of their status.

From the foregoing survey, certain elements of the theory of the community stand out. Community turnover is the means of indicating the social mobility and continuity of the community. Mobility and continuity are complementary and must be considered together. A change in one is likely to lead to or mean a corresponding inverse change of tempo in the other. Simmel lists leadership as one means of group continuity.<sup>3</sup> In a similar vein, the turnover of leadership may be called a factor in the dynamics or metabolism of the community.

Changes in leadership may be either change in individual leadership or change in type of leadership. The former may be automatic in character as when occasioned by death or change of residence, or it may be due to individual success or failure. But, change in type of leadership interacts with changes in the nature and growth of the community. In the case of the particular community men-

<sup>3</sup>Quoted in Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 353.

tioned previously, turnover of leadership in type meant a change in type of community.

Turnover of leadership is also a factor in communal efficiency. In another community which the author has observed, the first stages of the process of a change in type of leaders meant community disorganization. This took the form of conflict between old residents and newcomers. The city has increased in population enormously and the old leaders lacked the ability to carry through community enterprises in an adequate manner. And, their lack of toleration and respect for the ability and leadership attracted to the community by economic considerations prevented a more efficient utilization of the newcomers for the community welfare along political and cultural lines. Over-conservatism and inbreeding of leadership also prevent efficient social action. The best situation exists where there is a nucleus of old residents in the community to give stability, but which is not strong enough to dominate the group and check efforts toward improvement. In the Illinois community referred to previously, two chief factors tend to produce continuity of leadership. First, there is a strong continuity of leadership within certain prominent families, which are attached closely to each other by personal acquaintance and intermarriage. Added to this are the facts of the existence of interlocking directorates in the communal organization and the deliberate preparation of their children to succeed to their own positions of leadership in the community on the part of the present leaders. A second factor affecting the social continuity of this community is the source of leaders. Decades ago, the process of turnover of leadership brought potential leaders from outside the city, but during recent times the leaders are practically all home products. It is also a noticeable conclusion that during the last two generations of the history

of this Illinois community, the rate of turnover of leadership has decidedly slowed down as compared to the rate during its earlier life.

The relations of arrested turnover of leadership to community efficiency have appeared frequently in the experiences of community organizers. These workers have found that in some communities the present coterie of leaders did not possess the ability and energy to carry through proposed welfare projects. In such situations, some degree of turnover had to be stimulated and new leaders mobilized who would be able to function up to the desired degree of efficiency. It may be suggested that there is a wholesome rate of turnover of leadership in the metabolism of the community but lack of space prevents elaboration of that idea in this paper.

It might seem from the foregoing statements that leadership is not a dynamic factor. However, in these modern days leadership is becoming a more important phase of social interaction than in former times when the leader was more of a personal fiat. But, the type and requirements of leadership in the community are changing.

For the best communal efficiency a new type of leader is developing; one whose chief qualities are "socialized thinking and acting." As a community organizer, such a leader is one who discovers and utilizes all the active and potential human resources of the community, and brings them into participation for the community welfare. The technique of the new leadership should be motivated by the desire of recognizing ability wherever found and "liberating all persons, enlarging the meaning of life for them, and expanding and deepening their sense of social responsibility."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, p. 458.

# ANALYZING CHANGES IN PUBLIC OPINION

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CHANGES in public opinion may be discovered by analyzing changes in personal opinion. The 110 persons who furnished the data for the experiments in measuring social distances<sup>1</sup> were asked to select from the list of races (39 in all) used in the social distance experiments, (a) the races toward which they now have a more friendly feeling than they had ten years ago, and (b) the races toward which they now have a less friendly feeling than formerly. They were also asked to write out at length a description, not an exposition, of the circumstances whereby (a) they now possess a more favorable feeling than they once did toward some one race, and (b) whereby they now have an increased aversion for some race.

TABLE I

*Changes in Racial Opinions (In ten years, 110 persons)*

Races	Closer to	Farther away from	No mention
Armenians	23	9	79
Bulgarians	1	9	108
Canadians	14	1	95
Chinese	19	10	81
Czecho-Slovaks	7	1	102
Danes	7	0	103
Dutch	5	0	105
English	3	3	104
Filipinos	4	2	104

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, March-April, 1925, pp. 299-308.



French	15	7	88
French-Canadian	1	1	108
Finns	9	1	100
Germans	6	34	70
Greeks	8	10	92
Hindus	3	11	96
Hungarians	1	2	107
Indians (American)	6	1	103
Irish	2	2	106
Italians	8	6	96
Japanese	23	19	68
Jew-German	4	16	90
Jew-Russian	3	16	91
Koreans	2	2	106
Mexicans	15	22	73
Mulattoes	1	1	108
Negroes	11	9	90
Norwegians	9	0	101
Portuguese	1	2	107
Poles	5	3	102
Roumanians	1	1	108
Russians	2	11	97
Serbo-Croatians	3	3	104
Scotch	0	0	108
Scotch-Irish	1	0	109
Spanish	2	3	105
Syrians	2	2	106
Swedish	11	1	108
Turks	1	16	93
Welsh	1	0	109

## I

The figures in column 3 of Table I are unexpectedly large. The fact that 79 of the 110 persons do not mention, for example, the Armenian as a race toward which they have been drawn or from which they have turned, is surprising when it is considered that the 110 participants are all persons of relatively many contacts. Interviewing brings out the reasons.

1. I have never known members of the race and do not have any personal acquaintance in it. My feeling is neutral.

2. No members of the races in question have ever crossed my path. I am neither favorable or unfavorable to them — just do not know them, that's all.

In addition to *ignorance* due to *lack of contacts*, even by persons of wide experience and social contacts, there are those who have maintained, throughout the years, *a great friendliness* for some races, and for others, *a marked aversion*; no change in opinion has occurred.

3. The Irish is my own race and of course I have always liked them and always shall.

4. I am English and have always admired the Canadians. They are English anyway.

5. My grandfather taught me to hate the Poles and I (a Jew) can never forget their brutal murder of my father. I have always hated them with an undying hatred and I don't see how it can ever change, not until memory grows dim.

6. We are century long enemies of the Turks. Their oppressions have always been unbearable. I (Armenian) never see one even in Christian America but that I shudder from head to foot and start to run.

Taken all together, the reasons for no change in opinion by some persons toward some races show no habitual opinions formed at all, because of no personal contacts, or else fixed and unchanged habits grounded in either feelings of kinship and sympathy, or else of aversion arising out of personal experience and traditional teaching.

## II

Of the races toward which a favorable change in opinion has been encountered, *personal contacts* arousing a *fellow-feeling* have been experienced.

7. *Personal contacts, sympathetic, toward the Mexican.* Up to recently I was greatly prejudiced against the Mexican. I could not tolerate him. Living in his unsanitary adobe house in ignoranc:

and unprogressiveness I could not see a bit of worth in him. To me it seemed as if he didn't care whether he bettered his conditions, whether he progressed. All his thoughts seemed to drift back to Mexico giving little attention or credit to the United States.

After teaching for a year where I came in contact with Mexican children, in my room, on the playground, and finally their parents. I changed my mind, some of my prejudices disappeared, I began to sympathize with them. I found the Mexican mother had very little opportunity to learn sanitary conditions of her home, care of her children, but was more than willing to be shown. She was eager to keep her children in school and greatly agitated if they refused to come.

8. *Personal contacts, sympathetic, toward the Jew.* I can remember when we, as a family, were most bitter in our denunciations of Jews. Then, to our consternation, my sister married a Jew and we had to associate with them for her sake. The man she married was one of a large family, three brothers and three sisters who were all married and had families of their own. In all six families there is only one person who betrays any characteristics popularly attributed to the Jews as racial traits. This man is the husband of one of the sisters, is fond of making money and also of saving it, but no more so than certain of my non-Jewish friends. This same member of the family is the only loud talker in all the six families and he never says anything which is coarse or rude. During many visits among the various families, I have received most hospitable treatment, have found the home life lovely, refined, cultured — modulated voices, musical training, moderate expenditure, sincerity rather than ostentation and superficiality. I would say that generosity rather than parsimoniousness is a prevailing characteristic. The idea of "Jewing anyone down" is abhorrent to all the members of the six families, excepting the one brother-in-law already mentioned, and he is criticized by the others.

9. *Personal contacts, sympathetic, toward the Japanese.* Before I came to California I knew nothing about the Japanese and naturally was not interested. Now, I don't know much more, but I met a Japanese girl, who has had a very hard time to adjust herself to her environment, because of the treatment she and members of her race received. In my work in the evening school here in Los Angeles, I have had a number of Japanese people in my classes. Always they

are very appreciative and courteous and they usually learn quickly. My experiences with the Japanese have always been pleasant. Consequently I am more sympathetic when they are treated so harshly by the United States than I would be otherwise.

Sometimes there are more definite evidences than at other times of a *rational* element in the personal sympathetic experiences. The response has not been chiefly automatic, but has contained reflective elements.

10. *Personal contacts, sympathetic-rational, toward the Spanish.* Not until about four years ago when I came to California did my early idea and feeling toward the Spanish race change. I have never been especially interested in the old California Missions, but from them I learned something about the constructive things that the Spanish have done. Then too, in California, one comes in contact with more people of Spanish descent than he does in the east. As a whole I've found them congenial, bright, and sincere.

11. *Personal contacts, sympathetic-rational, toward the Japanese.* Even in fiction the Japanese are pictured as the treacherous villain, but talking with an educated Japanese, or living near one and taking notice of the effort they are putting forth to overcome their natural traits seems to make me feel that they should be given a chance. Inherited tendency is stronger in my opinion than social environment and the lives the Japanese have lived for generations cannot be forgotten and a new being reared because he lives in America. The moral standards of the Japanese here are certainly above what they were when they first came. One quickly learns to like a Japanese child because of his quickness to learn and his attitude toward his work.

There were instances where personal contacts were few or missing and where the change to a favorable opinion came about through *second-hand contacts* and more or less *rational*ly, due to the *influence of third parties*, such as teachers, and to *wide reading* and *extensive thinking*.

12. *Rational, social, toward the Negro (by a Southerner).* The early years of my childhood were spent in Louisiana. There I heard of the Negro only as a dirty black person who was on earth simply

to work for the white man. Like others in the town I felt that anything was good enough for the Negro and I never questioned the ethics of working the Negro as hard as he would allow us to, and paying him a pittance for his labors. I never thought of the Negro as a human with a soul. As I analyze my attitude I think it was much like my attitude toward beasts of burden; I was never intentionally cruel to them, nor did I desire to see them suffer. But the idea that the Negroes were men and women, with emotions, desires, and instincts like those of the white people never occurred to me. It was not hatred, but thoughtlessness. That a Negro had a soul was preposterous. I thought of Heaven as being populated only by white folks.

This was the idea I received from my elders and it was one I carried with me when I came to California. Here I found conditions very different. My parents lamented the fact that we would have to sit beside Negroes on street cars and in theaters. My father declared he would never lower himself to the level of the "nigger" like the Californians did — he simply could not understand the attitude of the westerner to the Negro. In different places I heard the southerner criticized by the westerner for his "mistreatment" of the Negro. I was suddenly thrust into a new atmosphere and at first I did not know what to make of it, but gradually my ideas began to change to those of my associates.

One of the three things that aided my change of opinion was a United States history class in high school. I had always heard the history of the Civil War presented from the southerner's point of view, now I was to be under a westerner. The teacher tried to present both sides fairly and this spurred me on to study the question with an open mind. I studied exceedingly hard for the examination over this section of the book and tried to form a fair opinion on the Civil War question. My disappointment was keen when my instructor returned the paper saying, "This is a good paper but I see you are still a true southerner."

Later I took a course in Americanization and wrote a paper on the "Achievement of the Negro in the United States." My research for this paper introduced me to the Negroes who were more than cooks and washerwomen and gardeners. I saw the Negro as one who possessed a brain equal to that of the white man. At this time I was a member of a club that was studying the book *J. W.*



*Thinks Black.* Here I had an opportunity to see the black man with a soul, worshipping the same God that I worshipped, and my idea of Heaven changed.

The change was a gradual one which covered from four to six years. There were many indirect influences that helped me to change my opinion, but the thing that had the greatest influence was the United States history class, the class in Americanization, and *J. W. Thinks Black*. In other words, the factors operating in my change of opinion were the personality of leaders and reading matter that bore on the subject. These two things, it seems to me, are the greatest factors in the change of public opinion.

### III

The changes of opinion from neutral to unfavorable, or favorable to unfavorable, usually occur on the basis of a few personal experiences, where the *feelings*, not of sympathy, but of *disgust* or *fear*, are aroused. The reactions are more or less automatic, and deep-seated, being exceedingly difficult, as a rule, to overcome.

13. *Personal contacts, disgust, away from the Italian.* My feeling toward the Italian is more distant than it would have been four years ago. My attitude and estimation of them may not be just, but actual experience has caused this attitude.

For four years I taught in a district where the Italian element was plentiful. This district lay near the Union Railroad station, so that many of the Italians we got were fresh from abroad. Often they did not know a word of English and very seldom could the parents speak, read, or write English.

Of course our problem would naturally be difficult. But after trying to teach American customs and habits of living, which were invariably more sanitary than theirs; after giving instructions through a school nurse, through parent-teachers' association, and night schools, we found these people would not try to adopt our ways.

14. *Personal contacts, disgust and fear, away from the Mexican.* As a small child I had no serious dislike for Mexicans. They went to the same school I did. I played with them and argued with them. I was never afraid of them, in fact they were the same as a white person in my estimation.

Our attendance problem was difficult too. The Italian will educate his son willingly, but his daughter has no particular need of a very high grade of education. She will marry at an early age and why should she go to school any length of time?

We often found the Italian children working on market when school was in session. We found them eating from the garbage cans of the market. Their homes were in the worst of dens. Any shack was good enough.

However, since I have taken greater notice of Mexicans, their traits, habits, customs, etc., my ideas have become decidedly changed. Living near the border of Arizona and Mexico, I have had good chances to see the Mexicans living their customary life. In their homes, the lower classes are the filthiest, dirtiest, most slovenly people I have ever seen, or hope to see. Naturally, coming from such homes they are horribly displeasing to look upon, and are low mentally and morally as well. Because of this I have developed a fear of them. They are not a race that I trust very much.

Other instances of changes of increasing aversion bring in the *rational* element more definitely than in those already noted, although feelings of disgust, fear, or both may still predominate. The primary factors are often *traditions, myths, past propaganda*; these are often long-lived and doggedly influential. They have come through *third parties* who have prestige with the influenced. A part of the truth, the unpleasant part, has been emphasized, obscuring the favorable traits of a given race.

15. *Propaganda, disgust, rational, away from the French-Canadian.* Several years ago I should have reacted favorably toward the French-Canadian. This would have been due to his connection in my mind with romance and adventure in the early days of our country when the trapper and fur-trader were likely to be of that race. Long-fellow with his "Evangeline" helped to strengthen this childhood impression.

But during the war, the papers contained frequent accounts of the refusal of the French in Canada to cooperate with the Canadian government in sending men to fight with the Allies, and their colonies were always represented as holding Canada back educationally.

This picture, repeated frequently, of an unassimilated group has prejudiced my mind against the French-Canadian.

Thrilling north-woods movies or the fact that the most attractive pupil I ever had was a French-Canadian do not remove that dislike from my mind.

16. *Tradition, personal experience, distrust, away from the French.* The World War has been the cause of my change of feeling for the French. I have heard so many reports from those who were in France during the war that have led me to believe that the standard of morality is very low there. Those I have met since the war seem to be so shallow and unreliable.

#### IV

The rôle of *a few personal experiences* in changing one's opinion overshadows all other factors. But the question still remains, why does personal contact sometimes lead to a favorable and again to an unfavorable opinion? Why is fellow-feeling sometimes aroused, and again, disgust or fear? The training of the person experiencing the change in opinion is evidently of prime importance. If one is accustomed to filth, then filth is not likely to arouse feelings of disgust; but if one be well trained in health matters, then filth is likely to arouse disgust. The reactions of fear and disgust mean, of course, that one's fundamental wish for security has been stimulated.

The attitude of the immigrant is also important, for if he has developed the habit of suspiciousness, subtleness, trickery, lying, as conditions of survival to which he has been accustomed, he will arouse distrust and disgust in this country. If, on the other hand, he comes from a social and political environment where frankness, open-mindedness, fair play, has been stimulated, he will display these attributes here and arouse sympathetic responses.

To us the aliens who are self-conscious and reserved are

suspected. On the other hand, they are often self-conscious and reserved because they are alien and different.<sup>2</sup> If the immigrant is more vivacious than we are, he arouses our contempt. If he be more taciturn and unmovable he stimulates fear in us. To the degree that he is a pure immigrant, he is different, and yet the greater the differences the more unfavorable an opinion we are likely to have of him.

Another fact disclosed by the original personal data is that a change from an unfavorable to a favorable opinion usually takes place by a prolonged process. Opinion is changed by slight and difficult steps. In the change from favorable to unfavorable, however, a single experience may be sufficient, "aided by a few abetting circumstances and experiences." Moreover, the arousal of disgusts and fears makes a more uneradicable impression than the arousal of fellow feelings.

Changes in public opinion seem to operate similarly. It takes many proofs and a long time element to change public opinion from an unfavorable to a favorable basis, while a few instances, perhaps no more than one, will shift public opinion into unfavorable reactions of a relatively lasting nature. These few instances, looming large in one's personal life, or played up in the newspapers, blind one to the thousand and one favorable traits of the given race.

<sup>2</sup> See R. E. Park, *Correspondence Course*, Education 348a, Univ. of Calif., assignment 2, p. 4.

## Book Notes

**SECRET SOCIETIES AND SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS.** By NESTA H. WEBSTER. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York. No date, pp. xii+419.

This book is one of a series in which the author is developing the questionable idea that such explosions as the French Revolution and the World War are produced by long-gathering and deliberate onslaughts "not only on Christianity, but on all social and moral order." Sociologically speaking, the sounder view would seem to be that the "subversive movements" which she treats (such as the Knights Templars, Oriental Freemasonry, Jewish Cabalism, Rosicrucianism, Satanism, and Pan-Germanism) are more in the nature of vagaries of the folk-mind than deliberate designs for or against anything. The author's style is excellent and her documentation shows immense reading, but the evidence and method of treatment are not entirely convincing.

C. M. C.

**THE SOCIOLOGY OF REVOLUTION.** By P. A. SOROKIN. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925, pp. xii+428.

One lays down this book feeling that revolutions are exceedingly expensive ways of securing progress and that a heavy burden of responsibility rests on those whose stubbornness and repressive measures bring revolutions upon society. Although the differences in the educational development of people may bring about differences in revolutionary results that the author does not take full account of, yet the way that he has portrayed the costs of revolution is a powerful, although indirect, plea for the development of evolutionary changes in all phases of society.

E. S. B.

**SOCIOLOGY AND MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS.** By CHAS. A. ELLWOOD. Fourth Edition. American Book Company, 1924, pp. 416.

This edition brings the statistics in the preceding edition to date and affords the student revised reading lists. The author emphasizes the study of primary groups as one of the best methods to introduce beginners to sociology. Of the main primary groups the family is utilized extensively and sanely.

**CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND ORIENTAL CIVILIZATIONS: A Study in Culture Contact.** By MAURICE T. PRICE. Shanghai, China, 1924, pp. xxvi+578.

This is a disinterested socio-psychological study of the process in which certain elements of Western civilization are transplanted to non-Christian countries through the instrumentality of the missionary. The author analyzed how non-Christians react to missionary propaganda, both favorably and unfavorably. Liberal use has been made of biographies and autobiographies of both converts and missionaries as well as other materials which have come from non-Christian and anti-Christian. Books on missions usually criticize or appraise, but this does neither; it merely seeks to describe the process which is going on as the Christian church's version of Occidental culture is brought into contact with the indigenous culture, and makes possible a more intelligent conception of the rôle of the missionary as well as a better understanding of the technique he has employed or must employ.

W. C. S.

**PROCEEDINGS OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK.** Fifty-first Annual Session, Toronto, Ontario. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924, pp. vii+652.

This volume is an impressive exhibit of the increasing importance of the rôle of social work in American life. Much space continues to be devoted to the discussion of social policies, yet a growing amount of attention is given to the countless technical problems with which social workers are at present struggling. This is particularly true of the sections on the family, mental hygiene, and the organization of social forces. Among a host of notable papers those by Dr. E. W. Burgess and Dr. Jessie Taft deserve special mention.

E. F. Y.

**MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS.** By ERNEST H. SHIDLER. Edwards Bros., Ann Arbor, 1925, pp. ii+307.

This book, intended for high school use, has three strong points: it utilizes the latest sociological thought; it is built around the concept of the group; and it contains many concrete materials. Nineteen chapters present data ranging from the individual to international associations.



**NON-VOTING: CAUSES AND METHODS OF CONTROL.** By CHARLES E. MERRIAM and HAROLD F. GOSNELL. The University of Chicago Press, *Studies in Social Science*, Chicago, 1924, pp. xvi+287.

This is a pioneer effort to deal scientifically with a very important aspect of the political process which has aroused wide interest and led to much speculation. The data was derived chiefly from interviews with some 6,000 non-voters in Chicago. There is a very thorough statistical analysis of the reasons offered and many illustrative comments which show attitudes toward voting. It is difficult to determine from the study the extent to which the reasons given are conventional or rationalized and do not therefore reveal basic controlling social forces. We need a few complete histories of the political life of individuals and much further insight into the reasons why citizens vote at all. The research student will be particularly interested in the exhibit made of the methods used in the study.

E. F. Y.

**UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN GREAT BRITAIN.** By FELIX MORLEY. Houghton, Mifflin Company, New York, 1924, pp. xviii+203. \$2.00.

This book owes its existence to the Hart, Shaffner and Marx prize essay offer of 1924. In that contest the volume won the second prize in Class "A." Its chief purpose may be said to be a critical analysis of what has been done for unemployment relief in Britain in the hope that such an analysis will be of assistance to those who may in the future be concerned with a rational plan for the relief of unemployment. Mr. Morley outlined the causes of the collapse of the state unemployment venture and at the same time gave valuable material as a basis for reconstructive measures.

M. J. V.

**SHARING MANAGEMENT WITH THE WORKERS.** By BEN M. SELEKMAN. Russell Sage Foundation, 1925, pp. xiv+142.

A board of directors with a representative of the wage-earners and of the community; a board of operatives elected entirely by the employees and looking after educational, recreational, and working conditions; and a board of management, half employees and half employers, and deciding upon wages and hours—this is the organization in briefest outline, of the Dutchess Bleachery that is carefully described by Mr. Selekman. This plan is evidently a step, at least, in a constructive direction.

E. S. B.

FAMILY WELFARE WORK IN A METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY. Selected Case Records. By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924, pp. xvii+938.

THE ART OF HELPING PEOPLE OUT OF TROUBLE. By KARL DE SCHWEINITZ. Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1924, pp. xii+231.

These two volumes deal with problems of family welfare from the point of view and by the methods of social case work. At that point the similarity stops. Dean Breckinridge has reproduced in detail forty-four carefully selected family "case histories" from the files of two large metropolitan family welfare agencies. They are an exhibit of the administrative methods used to deal with a variety of pathological situations. Considerable material useful in understanding the local situation is included. There is, however, little to indicate the social philosophy of either the editor or of the social agencies apart from the selection of material and the organization of the volume.

The cases are intended primarily for use in training social case workers by the so-called "case method" now common in training legal students. There is, however, no discussion of the pedagogical problems involved in the use of the material. The research student in social science will probably make little use of such records though they include much raw data. To him they have more literary than scientific value since the case investigation was largely practical in purpose and was not sufficiently complete or rigorous to permit scientific analysis.

Mr. de Schweinitz' volume represents the reflections of a busy, practical social service administrator who is a little uneasy concerning the philosophical and scientific validity of the premises of contemporary social work. He resolves his mental conflict by philosophizing upon certain episodes drawn from his own and others' experiences in social work. This again is good literature but not particularly helpful to one who wishes an intelligent understanding of the art of helping people out of trouble by social case work.

THE BOY AND HIS FUTURE. By NICHOLAS RICCIARDI. D. Appleton & Company, 1925, pp. xvii+119.

This book gives simple, direct advice to fathers to help them keep *en rapport* with their sons.

**RELIGIOUS EDUCATION SURVEY SCHEDULES.** By WALTER S. ATHEARN. (Volume III of *The Indiana Survey of Religious Education*.) Doran: New York. 1924.

With this volume the Institute of Religious and Social Research completes the report of a state-wide investigation of the administrative problems and methods of religious education. The present volume is of interest chiefly to social technicians, particularly social surveyors, who will find in it a wealth of material for use and study. It shows the questionnaire and schedule as tools of the art of social stock-taking in a very highly developed form. So important a contribution to social technology prompts the hope that a report of the experiences gained in surveying will be forthcoming. What general concepts of method controlled the framing of the original forms? What successes and failures were met in their use? What modifications were made or seem advisable now in view of these experiences? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the questionnaire and the schedule as methods of social investigation? How much do these methods contribute to the technique of the social research student who wishes to study religious education as a social process rather than as a set of administrative problems? E. F. Y.

**THE RACES OF MAN AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION.** By A. C. HADDON. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925, pp. viii+201.

This is a study of races from the point of view of physical anthropology. Race is simply a biological matter, but there are no sharp dividing lines. Each group has, in general, certain associated characters which have been impressed by climatic conditions and fixed by selection in certain isolation areas. The main groups of mankind have been classified by the author on the basis of hair. This book supplies a wholesome antidote to the views set forth relative to the purity of certain groups, particularly the Nordics. The data show that there are no pure races. W. C. S.

**MAN'S JUDGMENT OF DEATH.** By LEWIS E. LAWES. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York and London, 1924, pp. vi+146.

This book is an attempt to evaluate statistically the death penalty as a deterrent of crime. On the basis of a considerable array of data the conclusion is reached that it fails to serve as a check. While the study is an admirable one as a whole there is danger that some of the correlations may be coincidences rather than causal relationships. W. C. S.

**THE FOLK-LORE OF BOMBAY.** By R. E. ENTHOVEN. Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 353.

The materials presented in this book were collected during a long residence in India. This study of folk-lore, which sets forth the beliefs generally held, gives an idea of the outlook which these people have upon life. One may see here how the active imagination of the Oriental works in interpreting the phenomena about him. The influence which occupation has upon the thought life of a group is here reflected. The population of the area studied is largely agricultural and as a result a large number of ceremonies and beliefs are focused upon the production of crops and the protection of cattle.

W. C. S.

**THE EDUCATION OF THE CONSUMER.** By HENRY HARAP. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924, pp. xvii+360.

The specific aim of this book is to help ascertain the objectives of education for American economic life with reference to consumption of food, shelter, fuel, and clothing. The methodology employed is fruitful of suggestion to those interested in making social or economic surveys. There is a wealth of material capable of fine utilization by curriculum makers of courses tending toward education for home appreciation and home economics.

M. J. V.

**THE CONSTITUTION TODAY.** By ROSCOE L. ASHLEY. The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. xii+237.

In this neat and attractive book, the author has presented clearly and interestingly not the dry bones but the human values and meanings of the Constitution. After finishing a study of the Constitution under Mr. Ashley's guidance one has increased respect for that document.

**AFRICAN CLEARINGS.** By JEAN KENYON MACKENZIE. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, pp. x+270.

This book has grown out of the author's experience as she lived for fourteen years among the Bantu tribes of West Africa. In relating the story of her own life among them she tells many interesting things about their life.

W. C. S.

**CLIMATIC LAWS.** A summary of climate. By S. S. VISHER. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1924, pp. 96.

Herein is a course summary of the laws of climate, which help to explain the geographic and ecological environment of man.

**PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES:** *Their Purpose, Structure, and Methods.* Russell Sage Foundation. New York, 1924. pp. xvii+685.

HARRISON, SHELBY M., and ASSOCIATES.

This is an exhaustive treatment of the subject from the point of view of public policy and methods of public welfare administration. Attention is focused especially upon organization, personnel, executive control, office routine, publicity, and methods of cooperation. Students of sociology will be particularly interested in the light thrown upon certain of the social and political forces which create a demand for public employment service and which at the same time control the character of its development. E. F. Y.

**THE FRONTIER SPIRIT IN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY.** By PETER G. MODE. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923, pp. x+196.

This book is of interest to the sociologist in that it shows how a certain type of social environment has left its imprint upon the religious life of the country. To deal with the conditions in a rapidly rising civilization in the West, the methods of the colonial churches underwent radical change. The salient features of this process of frontierization are discussed. The chapter on Revivalism is of particular interest from the point of view of crowd psychology.

**SALVAGING OF AMERICAN GIRLHOOD.** By ISABEL DAVENPORT. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1924, pp. ix+302.

This is a study of the sex knowledge of young women "of more than average education," in their late adolescence, and at the same time, a plea for "straightforward, adequate effort" in meeting the very evident needs, and for putting this phase of education on a sound psychological foundation. The method used in obtaining the data constitutes an interesting experiment in group interviewing.

E. S. B.

**CODES OF ETHICS.** By EDGAR L. HEERMANCE. Free Press Printing Company, Burlington, Vt., 1924, pp.viii+525.

Over 130 trades and professions are included in this source book of codes of ethics as found in the specific declarations of each. The book needs to be supplemented by a study of the degree to which each profession lives up to its ideals. E. S. B.



SEVENTY YEARS OF LIFE AND LABOR. An Autobiography. By SAMUEL GOMPERS. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1924, pp. I:xxxix+557; II:xxvii+629.

Valuable source materials for the study of the labor movement are given by the "big chief" of the American Federation of Labor. His was a lifelong dedication to the welfare of the oppressed classes, and to the cause of justice for labor. A strong partisan, the cause of labor his religion, an opponent of "radicalism," he died a martyr to the labor movement. His autobiography states and defines his position on many questions. For example, he opposed arbitration, especially compulsory arbitration because it is a method of fighting out issues, whereas satisfactory industrial agreements are usually "evolved out of a mutual experience and understanding between the parties most concerned."

E. S. B.

STUDIES IN RELIGION, FOLK-LORE, AND CUSTOM IN BRITISH NORTH BORNEO AND THE MALAY PENINSULA. By IVOR H. N. EVANS. The Cambridge University Press, 1923, pp. ix+299.

The materials presented in this treatise were collected by the author while he lived as an official among the people studied. The book does not present a well-rounded discussion but is, according to the writer, to be considered merely as supplementary to other standard works, namely, Skeat and Bloxden, *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, and Ling Roth, *The Tribes of British North Borneo and Sarawak*. An unduly large amount of space is devoted to folk-stories.

W. C. S.

THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE. By WILLIAM CHRISTIE MACLEOD. Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 109.

Several different theories of the origin of the state are criticized. The author advances the theory that the state comes into existence through the ascendancy of enterprising individuals. The chief's office becomes hereditary and through intermarriage there develops the segregation of an aristocracy over against a class of commoners.

W. C. S.

LAFOLLETTE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE. Published by the Robert M. LaFollette Co., Madison, Wisconsin, Sixth Edition, pp. xii+807.

In this "personal narrative of political experiences" the student of the social psychology of leadership will find important source materials.

E. S. B.



**RACE AND RACE RELATIONS.** By ROBERT E. SPEER. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1924, pp. 434.

This volume, according to the author, is an attempt to set forth the Christian point of view in regard to race problems. As may be expected, the book is somewhat "preachy" but nevertheless it is of great value on account of the mass of materials brought together from a wide range of sources and on account of the references to other materials. Divergent views have been stated to give the reader material for his own conclusions.

W. C. S.

**THE STORY OF TEAPOT DOME.** By M. E. RAVAGE. Republic Publishing Company, 1924, pp. 198.

In this rehearsal of the history of the Teapot Dome oil reserves, documentary evidence is quoted extensively and the conclusions drawn that the corruption involved is "the evil-doing of one man alone, namely, Secretary Fall, and that other prominent government officials including Secretary Denby were seriously implicated as evidenced by their passive attitudes in the matter."

**THE ORIGIN OF MAGIC AND RELIGION.** By W. J. PERRY. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, 1923, pp. ix+211.

This book is another link in the chain of argument of the English diffusionist school of ethnologists. The aim is to trace the main lines of thought which have led to the development of the different religious and magical systems. Religion and magic, like other cultural elements, came from the archaic civilization in Egypt.

W. C. S.

**MAKING SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDIES.** By E. S. BOGARDUS. Jesse Ray Miller, Los Angeles, 1925, pp. 106.

The book is designed for the use of undergraduate students desiring to acquire skill in making social science studies. Among the subjects treated are: the scientific attitude (four pages), reviewing social science books (eight pages), making bibliographies (seven pages), gathering data (16 pages), analyzing data (17 pages), making facts graphic (16 pages), and so on. Three methods are presented: the statistical, the ecological, and the personal interview. These are to be taken together as a composite approach to the study of any social problem. Nine charts, three maps, tables, sample questionnaires, and bibliographies are interspersed throughout the discussion for purposes of illustration.

**PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP.** By BAKER-CROTHERS and HUDNUT. Henry Holt & Company, 1924, pp. xiv+514.

In these, materials for an introductory social science course in college, the newspaper problem, the immigrant problem, the negro problem, the woman problem, the industrial problem, the problem of civil liberty, the problems of international relations, of war and peace, are reviewed in order. While the result is not an introduction to the social sciences as such, or a systematic treatise, the book does afford an untrammelled and emancipated introduction to important problems of the day with which the social sciences are concerned. This book deserves to be tried out extensively and fairly.

**KENYA.** By NORMAN LEYS. The Hogarth Press, London, 1924, pp. 409.

This is a description of a situation in which problems have arisen because of the contact of Europeans, East Indians, and Negroes in the same area. These groups are bearers of different cultures and the disorganization which has resulted particularly in the case of the Native African, is set forth at some length. The effects due to missionary propaganda and industrial changes are presented.

W. C. S.

**DYNAMIC PSYCHOLOGY.** By D. T. V. MOORE. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924, pp. vi+444.

The author, a monk of the Order of St. Benedict, professor of psychology in the Catholic University, and director of the clinic for mental and nervous diseases, Providence Hospital, Washington, D. C., has written a psychology from the standpoint of a sane and conservative interpretation of psychoanalysis. Psychology is defined as "the science of personality." Emotional life, conflict, psychotaxes, psychotherapy play a large rôle in this distinctive treatise.

**BEGGARS OF LIFE.** By JIM TULLY. Albert and Charles Boni, 1924, pp. 336.

Unvarnished realism, profane language, uncouth sights, cynicism regarding religion, philosophy, sociology, together with experiences that explain the tramp's vagaries are vividly portrayed in this hobo autobiography.

E. S. B.

**THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN JAPAN.** By SEN KATAYAMA. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, pp. 147.

In this account of the rise of socialism in Japan, there is also a vivid portrayal of the increase of industrial unrest and dissatisfaction among the laboring classes.

**STICKS AND STONES.** By LEWIS MUMFORD. Boni & Liveright, 1924.

In this "study of American architecture and civilization," the emphasis is historical. The last two chapters on "The Age of the Machine," and "Architecture and Civilization" are the best; the main theme is that "the characteristic buildings of each period are the memorials to their dearest institutions." A plea is made for "regional planning" — a much larger concept than city planning.

E. S. B.

**CHANGING HUMAN NATURE.** By HAROLD ROWNTREE. The Stratford Company, 1923, pp. 139.

The author begins with the assertion that human nature can be changed by changing environmental conditions and ends with a strong plea for a modification of the income tax whereby the acquisition of unearned wealth may be stopped. The evil of Acquisition is deplored and Service is urged.

**GRAPHIC METHODS IN EDUCATION.** By J. HAROLD WILLIAMS. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, pp. xvii+319.

Nearly 150 figures are used to illustrate the various graphic methods that the author analyzes for making facts graphic. While the illustrative data, of course, are chosen from the educational field, the book is valuable to beginning students in social research.

E. S. B.

**CONSTRUCTIVE SCHOOL DISCIPLINE.** By WALTER R. SMITH. American Book Company, 1924, pp. 275.

With the rod of correction removed and with reverence for age, and custom lagging, how many children develop a necessary "toughness of fibre"? To this question, Dr. Smith's book is a practical answer along thoroughly democratic lines and in keeping with changing social conditions.

E. S. B.

**GYPSY FIRES IN AMERICA.** By IRVING BROWN. Harper & Bros., 1924, pp. 244.

The author, who has a pleasing descriptive style, gives a series of first-hand narratives concerning love among the gypsies, gypsy cunning and fortune telling, gypsy wandering and the never-ending trail, gypsies and the automobile.

## Periodical Notes

*Family or Companionate.* While something is seriously wrong with the institution of marriage, a great deal could be accomplished if young people were properly educated for family life. Paul Pope-noe, *Jour. of Social Hygiene*, March, 1925, pp. 129-138.

*The Objectives of Social Work Education.* These are (1) background studies in human behavior, (2) technical training in helping people make the needed personal behavior adjustments, and (3) training in the principles and practice of leadership. John L. Gillin, *Jour. of Social Forces*, March, 1925, pp. 408-13.

*The Psychology of Radicalism.* Radicalism is a conspicuous departure from definitely established social habits having the stamp of social approval. It is about five per cent articulate; the rest is inarticulate or suppressed. There are emotional radicals and intellectual or scientific radicals. W. T. Root, *Jour. of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 341-57.

*Towards a Theory of Sacrifice.* Sacrifice comes not by rites alone, or by a purified disposition but by a revulsion in thought and practice, giving up some things we like for the sake of larger harmonies. Sacrifice means "making sacred" both persons and communities in behalf of a supreme art-creation of the world, uniting persons and interests in true epochal form. Victor Branford, editor, *Sociology Rev.*, Jan., 1925, pp. 18-30.

*Sociology and Plato's Republic.* The *Republic* in discussing the relations of men in society is dealing with the subject matter of sociology, but the method, namely, of establishing truth by arriving at consistency between concepts is the opposite of the sociological method, which is that "of observing uniformities of cause and effect in the objective world." Albion W. Small, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, March, 1925, pp. 513-33.

*Le Droit Naturel.* This includes liberty of personal opinion, with society permitted in exceptional instances to correct abuses. Pierre Louis-Lucas, *La Reforme Sociale*, Feb., 1925, pp. 65-83.

*Eugenics and the Social Good.* The future belongs to the people who raise children, but if the upper economic classes are unwilling to raise children, why should they bewail the fact that they cannot control the future? W. S. Thompson, *Jour. of Social Forces*, March, 1925, pp. 414-19.

*On the Relation of Intelligence to Achievement in the Case of Mentally Retarded Children.* There are characteristic differences in mental traits between normal and retarded children of the same mental level, but "capacity for learning" in the two groups is not significantly different at any given level. Maud A. Merrill, *Comp. Psych. Monographs*, II, Sept., 1924, 1-100.

*The Application of Psychiatry to High-School Problems.* Instead of viewing the problem boy or girl in high school simply "as failing in his work" or "as a disturbing influence," the psychiatrist explores such emotionally fertile fields as attitudes of parents, as home and social relationships, as personal conflicts, as ambitions and personality traits. Anne T. Bingham, *Mental Hygiene*, Jan. 1925, pp. 1-27.

*The Delinquent Attitude.* Attitude is the deep, intrinsic response the person takes as a matter of course in a given situation. As a class, delinquents consider that it is useless, impossible, or foolish to do as their neighbors do in respect to authority, property, industry, chastity, or team-play. This attitude is early conditioned by the individual's social environment. Miriam Van Waters, *The Family*, July, 1924, 109-13.

*Can the Sentiment of Patriotism be Refunded?* A reversal is needed of the policy of instilling into the minds of youth of a narrow, selfish, rancid patriotism, involving suspicion and hatred of other national groups. We need to get ready educationally for a new internationalism abolishing war and group rivalry, and to learn that society not nations, is sacred, requiring the supreme sacrifice. G. T. W. Patrick, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, March, 1925, pp. 569-584.

*Religion and Education.* Religion and education are natural allies. Both have to do with the spiritual. Both seek to emancipate a man from slavery to his environment. Ernest De Witt Burton, *Jour. of Religion*, Nov., 1924: 561-575.

*Some Objections to the Family Wage System Considered.* Those who fear civilization is dying out at the top should favor the family wage system. A dollar cannot buy as much happiness for the millionaire as it can for the poor man. Paul H. Douglas, *Jour. Pol. Econ.*, Dec., 1924: 690-706.

*The Sense of Society.* Inequality is everywhere present. Men are neither equal, nor merely brothers, nor entirely free, and yet there is a growing sense of mutual dependence and sociality, or a sense of society. Francis Younghusband, pres. Sociological Society (Engl.), *Sociology Rev.*, Jan., 1925, pp. 1-13.

*La Propriete.* Although private property seems essential to human progress, its maintenance will rest on social utility, not on use for personal enjoyment. Its retention will depend on its being used in line with the harmonious and peaceful development of civilization. Paul Cloarec, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Nov.-Dec., 1924, pp. 577-97.

*The Influence of Journalism on Crime.* Newspapers today are allowed to publish materials which are to desirable types of education what a sewer would be to a stream of pure water set aside for public use. Modern journalism is part of the cause of much crime, lynching, divorce, and other forms and evidences of bad citizenship. Theodore Spector, *Jour. Am. Inst. Crim. Law and Criminol.*, May, 1924, 155-58.

*The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community.* The community has its inception in traits of human nature and in human needs. The community's size and stability is a function of the process of producing and distributing food and other commodities. Its growth or decline are determined by ecological factors and its social organization is affected by ecological changes. R. D. McKenzie, *Am. Jour. Sociology*, Nov., 1924: 287-301.



## Social Fiction Notes

WE. By EUGENE ZAMIATIN. Translated from the Russian by G. Zilboorg. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, 1924.

A boldly conceived satirical thrust at those who would submerge the creative personality in a mass of standardizations is this novel from out of Russia. Written in the form of a diary by Citizen D-503, it purports to show life in the United State a thousand years hence. The United State is a strictly standardized, "socialized" community whose citizens have made the great choice between freedom and happiness. Freedom was the downfall of the ancients and so happiness without freedom was chosen. All citizens are known by numbers, all are regulated in their daily actions, all are rationalized to the greatest degree possible. Even this slightly imperfect rationalization, disturbed for a time by their mathematicians' inability to solve the irrational square root of minus one, is overcome finally by the numbers being forced to undergo operations for the removal of the Nerve Center of Fancy. Thus is destroyed the last atavistic impulses, love and parental hunger, which had threatened to disrupt the United State, and the mathematically faultless happy beings pursue their well marked paths. This new Utopia is saved from dullness by the swift analytical style, breezy in many portions, and by its subtle humor.

M. J. V.

THE MATRIARCH. By G. B. STERN. Alfred Knopf, New York, 1925.

Here is a gripping and fascinating tale of family life running through several generations. Students of genealogical tables will find in it a profitable task if they map out the effects of heredity and environment in the lives of the Rakonitz clan. The matriarch herself, Anastasia, stands out in bold relief. Her whims and fancies, her tact and leadership, her undaunted spirit and her regal mood furnish the reader with half-hours of delightful pleasantries. The port royal of the old home life with its coffee cake atmosphere is depicted charmingly. It is a finely written and satisfying story.

M. J. V.

## Social Work Notes

THE LOS ANGELES Community Chest has set aside a considerable sum of money for the study of the problems of social welfare in Los Angeles. It has several projects in view, including studies of family welfare and child welfare organizations, and a special study, now under way, of agencies dealing in Negro children.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS radically reorganized its structure on February 15. All division offices have been closed and the local chapters deal directly with the national office at Washington, D. C., or with branch offices located at St. Louis and San Francisco, in the case of middle western and Pacific Coast territory. The estimated annual saving is about \$130,000 and at the same time considerable improvement in the service to local chapters will be secured.

THE "GASOLINE HOBO" and his family have now reached the dignity of inclusion in the list of social problems. He is so highly mobile and socially unstable that local communities are finding it very difficult to deal efficiently with him. The Kansas City Provident Association is undertaking an intensive study of ways and means for understanding and controlling the behavior of the increasing number of transient automobile families. Joint action by a large number of communities will be required to solve this new aspect of a problem which reaches back to the Crusades.

THE EXPERIMENT of publishing full detailed social case histories is now well under way. Until quite recently such records were occasionally printed but "not published." They were accessible only to the elect. The development of case work as a profession, however, depends in considerable measure upon the extent to which professional experiences are exchanged and made available for the training of beginners in the art. The detailed case history furnishes case workers, as no other method does, an opportunity for study, interpretation, and revaluation of their own work. More records need to see the light.

PLANS have been completed for the opening in New York City of a National training school for Jewish social workers on July first. The recruiting of students is an integral part of the program of the school. Mr. M. J. Karpf, until recently director of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, is the director of the school.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK meets in Denver, June 10th to 17th. The program covers the usual wide range of activities now comprised within the realm of social service. Of particular interest is the tentative program of Division XI, on Professional Standards and Education. The discussion in its section meetings will center about the rôle played by agencies, professional organizations, and schools of social welfare in the development of professional standards. Attention will also be given to recent studies of professional needs.

IS SOCIAL WORK meeting its responsibilities on educational publicity? That is, have social workers been sufficiently active in making clear to laymen the point of view of social work, its aims and its methods? A group of students in the department of social work at the University of Toledo recently secured the reactions of 350 persons chosen at random. Of this group 196 were favorable to social work, 59 were unfavorable, 42 were generally favorable but made specific criticisms, and 53 were not sufficiently informed to be willing to express an opinion. The great diversity of opinion discovered in this sample suggests that further work needs to be done in the field of "educational" publicity.

PRESENT day confusion of social standards, combined with almost universal literacy, has given rise to much current popular literature which has aroused the apprehension of many parents. It is widely believed that this readily accessible material is an important factor in the disorganization of young people. The National Committee on Moral Standards in Literature for the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has undertaken to survey the extent of the evil. It is especially interested in the effect of this literature upon the attitudes of minors with respect to appreciation of wholesome, well-ordered home life under moderate circumstances, respect for marriage, respect for law and for religion, and the problem it creates in protecting youth from undue sex stimulation.

THE CHICAGO WOMEN'S CLUB and the Committee on Social Research of the University of Chicago have provided funds for a fellowship for the study of the delinquent boy in Chicago.

THE LOWER North Community Council of Chicago, cooperating with the Social Research Committee of the University of Chicago, has established a resident research fellowship in the "Lower North Community." This district is a very highly congested area just north of the "Loop" or central business district in Chicago, including such diverse elements as "Gold Coast," "Little Sicily," a section of "Hobohemia," a metropolitan business area, a rooming house district, and a heavy manufacturing district.

THE PROBLEM of specialization in the various social work fields is coming rapidly to the front. It is a particularly difficult problem from the point of view of the professional training schools. How broad a foundation of general education is needed? At what point can specialization best begin? Is there a general technical training for social work analogous to the general training now given in medicine, which all social workers should be expected to acquire? What will be the effect upon professional training of the increasing tendency toward specialization of agency functions now accentuated by financial federations, community chests, and councils of social agencies?

A SPECIAL committee of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, New York City, has begun a study of the "social and character-building value" of recreational activities. Scientific men, psychiatrists, psychologists, and pedagogs are being asked to express their opinion as to the feasibility of such a study and are urged to cooperate with the Association in planning and carrying on suitable laboratory studies. A study of the opinions of practical recreation workers on this same matter is under way. It is hoped that valid tests will be discovered and accurate measures devised which will reveal the effect of recreational activities upon the conduct of participants.



## International Notes

THE WORLD need for suppressing the opium traffic in the Orient was rebuffed at the recent conferences in Geneva by the pagan commercial interests of certain Christian countries; these interests put greed above world welfare.

With the development of the radio as an international asset commercially, the demand is rapidly rising for an international language. The radio, supported by commerce, bids fair to hasten the day when a world tongue will help to make world communication and understanding possible — fundamentals in securing world progress by peaceful means.

THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA Council on International Relations is "the bundle of sticks into which are tied the societies, the groups, the clubs, the lodges, the churches, the schools, the business men, the preachers, the teachers, the lawyers, the workers in every calling and of every nation who are interested to come together for a permanent effort to master a knowledge of the peoples of the world." Discussion and study groups and lectures is the method.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS which is to be held at Honolulu during the first two weeks of July will be participated in by representatives from nearly all the important countries bordering on the Pacific. Scholars, business men, churchmen will gather to discuss the racial, political, religious, and economic problems that are now disturbing the Pacific Basin. Race prejudice is less rampant in the Hawaiian Islands than in the Pacific Coast states of the United States, and hence the Institute will have more freedom for discussion.

THE EXTENT to which the promotion of international good will has been furthered by the Rockefeller gifts is little appreciated. Since the establishment of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913, the Rockefeller philanthropies now reach approximately \$500,000,000 and include the International Health Board, the International Education Board, the Institute for Medical Research, and so on (as summarized in the *Survey*, April 1, 1925). People in nearly every civilized country of the world are beneficiaries of the Rockefeller works of mercy and prevention. Back of these gifts is the idea of "promoting the well-being of mankind throughout the world."